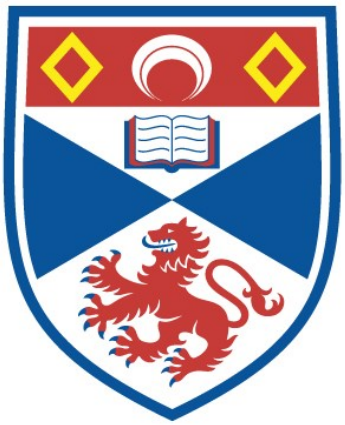
SIR DAVID LINDSAY OF THE MOUNT : POLITICAL AND RELIGIOUS CULTURE IN RENAISSANCE SCOTLAND

Carol Edington

A Thesis Submitted for the Degree of PhD
at the
University of St Andrews



1992

SIR DAVID LINDSAY OF THE MOUNT: POLITICAL AND RELIGIOUS CULTURE IN RENAISSANCE SCOTLAND

BY

CAROL EDINGTON

A THESIS SUBMITTED FOR THE DEGREE OF DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

UNIVERSITY OF ST ANDREWS

11TH NOVEMBER 1991

Th
B 7 9

A B S T R A C T

For too long Sir David Lindsay of the Mount has been almost the exclusive concern of literary critics and ecclesiastical historians. This thesis aims to demonstrate that Lindsay and his works represent an invaluable source for a much broader study of Renaissance Scotland and that placing each in a proper historical and cultural context sheds an important light on some of the ideas and attitudes which shaped Scotland's political and religious culture during this crucial period. The thesis falls into three sections. The first offers a detailed examination of Lindsay's career, tracing his arrival at Court, his experiences during the minority of 1513-28 and his employment as a herald. Looking at the events of the 1530s, it argues that Lindsay's position is best seen both in the light of a developing humanist-influenced court culture and the emergence of religious controversy. It is suggested that, following the death of James V, Lindsay was much less closely associated with the Court and that this had important consequences for his political, religious and poetic development. Part Two stresses the hitherto little appreciated point that Lindsay was very much a political writer. Analysing his discussion of government, the section looks in particular at ideas of kingship and commonweal, assessing the extent to which Lindsay variously questioned or endorsed traditional attitudes and assumptions. This also involves a study of Lindsay's position as court-poet and those occasions of public spectacle with which he was involved. Completing the examination of Lindsay and his works, the thesis turns to questions of religion. Arguing that his work represents a more complex, often more ambiguous, but ultimately more satisfying, source than is generally appreciated, Part Three considers Lindsay's religious attitudes, examining what his poetry can tell us concerning the situation in Scotland on the eve of the Reformation.

D E C L A R T I O N S

I, Carol Edington, hereby certify that this thesis, which is approximately 120,000 words in length, has been written by me, that it is the record of work carried out by me and that it has not been submitted in any previous application for a higher degree.

Date 11th November 1991 Signature of Candidate

I was admitted as a research student under Ordinance No. 12 in October 1988 and as a candidate for the degree of Ph.D. in October 1989; the higher study for which this is a record was carried out in the University of St Andrews between 1988 and 1991.

Date 11th November 1991 Signature of Candidate.

I hereby certify that the candidate has fulfilled the conditions of the Resolution and Regulations appropriate for the degree of Ph.D. in the University of St Andrews and that the candidate is qualified to submit this thesis in application for that degree.

Date 11 November 91. Signature of Supervisor.

Copyright

In submitting this thesis to the University of St Andrews I understand that I am giving permission for it to be made available for use in accordance with the regulations of the University Library for the time being in force, subject to any copyright vested in the work not being affected thereby. I also understand that the title and abstract will be published, and that a copy of the work may be made and supplied to any *bona fide* library or research worker.

Date 11th November 1991 Signature of Candidate.

Figure One

The Royal Arms of Scotland
(Lindsay's Armorial Manuscript)

C O N T E N T S

Page

INTRODUCTION 1

PART I: SIR DAVID LINDSAY: LIFE AND CAREER

Pass vp, and schaw, in oppin audience,
Solempnitlie, with ornate eloquence,
At greit laser, the legend of my life,
How I haue stand in monie stalwart strife.
(The Historie of Squyer Meldrum, 165-68)

Chapter One Background and Beginnings: 1486-1530 10
Chapter Two A Heraldic Career: 1530-1555 46
Chapter Three Success and Survival: 1530-1555 80

PART II: THE ART OF GOVERNMENT: KINGSHIP AND COMMONWEAL

Sir, gif ye please for to vse my counsall,
Your fame and name sall be perpetuall.
(Ane Satyre of the Thrie Estatis, 1900-01)

Chapter Four Kings and Kingship 136
Chapter Five Courtly Visions: Court-Poet and Pageant-Master 181
Chapter Six Community and Commonweal 234

PART III: REFORM AND REFORMATION: THE CHURCH

Gett vpe, thow slepist all to lang, O Lorde,
And mak one haistie reformatioun.
(The Monarche, 2701-02)

Chapter Seven Religious Debate: The Humanist Critique 290
Chapter Eight Religious Controversy: Home and Away 324
Chapter Nine Returning to the Fray: Politics and Prophecy 350

CONCLUSION 406

APPENDICES

Appendix 1 A Short Summary of Lindsay's Works 421
Appendix 2 The Lindsay Family Tree 436
Appendix 3 A Concise Chronology 437

BIBLIOGRAPHY 440

I L L U S T R A T I O N S

Frontispiece
(Figure One) ....The Royal Arms of Scotland
(Lindsay's Armorial Manuscript)

Figure Two .....Illustration of a Herald
(Seton Armorial, c.1591)

Figure Three ....Woodcut of a Herald
(Ane Dialogue, Paris, 1558)

Figure Four .....Linlithgow Palace, South Gate

Figure Five .....Detail from the South Gate, Linlithgow Palace

Figure Six .....James V by an anonymous artist

Acknowledgements

Figure One from Facsimile of an Ancient Heraldic Manuscript Emblazoned by Sir David Lyndsay of the Mount, Lyon King of Armes, 1542 (Edinburgh, 1822).
Figures Two and Three courtesy of the National Library of Scotland.
Figures Four and Five courtesy of Historic Scotland.
Figure Six courtesy of the Scottish National Portrait Gallery.

I am grateful to the Department of Scottish History, St Andrews University, whose financial assistance made possible the reproduction of these illustrations.

ABBREVIATIONS AND CONVENTIONS

ABBREVIATIONS

A.D.C.P.	Acts of the Lords of Council in Public Affairs 1501-54: Selections from the Acta Dominorum Concilii, R. K. Hannay, ed., (Edinburgh, 1932).
A.P.S.	The Acts of Parliament of Scotland, T. Thomson & C. Innes, ed., 12 vols, (Edinburgh, 1814-75).
C.S.P. Scot.	Calendar of State Papers Relating to Scotland, 1509-1603, M. J. Thorpe, ed., 2 vols, (London, 1858).
D.N.B.	Dictionary of National Biography, (London & Oxford, 1885-).
D.O.S.T.	A Dictionary of the Older Scottish Toungue: Twelfth Century to the end of the Seventeenth, Sir William A. Craigie et al. ed., (London & Aberdeen, 1937-).
E.E.T.S.	Early English Text Society.
E.R.	The Exchequer Rolls of Scotland, G. Burnett et al., ed., 23 vols, (Edinburgh, 1878-1908).
Hamilton Papers	The Hamilton Papers, Joseph Bain, ed., 2 vols, (Edinburgh, 1890-92).
Hist. MSS. Comm.	Reports of the Royal Commission on Historical Manuscripts (London, 1870-).
L.& P. Henry VIII	Calendar of Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic, Henry VIII, J. S. Brewer et al., ed., 21 vols, (London, 1864-1932).
O.E.D.	The Oxford English Dictionary, Second edition, 20 vols, (Oxford, 1989).
R.M.S.	*Registrum Magni Sigilli Regum Scotorum*, J. M. Thompson et al., ed., 11 vols, (Edinburgh, 1882-1914).
R.P.C.	The Register of the Privy Council of Scotland, J. H. Burton et al., ed., (Edinburgh 1877-).
R.S.C.H.S.	Records of the Scottish Church History Society.
R.S.S.	*Registrum Secreti Sigilli Regum Scotorum*, M. Livingstone et al., ed., (Edinburgh, 1908-).
S.B.R.S.	Scottish Burgh Record Society.
S.H.R.	Scottish Historical Review.
S.H.S.	Scottish History Society.

Abbreviations Contd

S.L.J.	Scottish Literary Journal.
S.M.R.T.	Studies in Medieval and Renaissance Thought.
S.P. Henry VIII	State Papers of Henry VIII, 11 vols, (London, 1830-52).
S.R.S.	Scottish Record Society.
S.S.L.	Studies in Scottish Literature.
S.T.S.	Scottish Text Society.
T.A.	Accounts of the Lord High Treasurer of Scotland, T. Dickon & Sir J. Balfour Paul, ed., 12 vols, (Edinburgh, 1877-1916).

CONVENTIONS

Contemporary documents are quoted in the original spelling. Yogh is given as 'y', thorn as 'th' and the letters i/j and u/v/w are modernized where this clarifies the sense. Contractions are expanded and modern capitalization and punctuation used.

Dates are given according to the modern calendar with the new year beginning on 1 January.

Unless otherwise stated, quotations from Lindsay's works are taken from Douglas Hamer, The Works of Sir David Lindsay of the Mount 1490-1555, 4 vols, (S.T.S., 1931-36). Quotations from Ane Satyre of the Thrie Estatis are taken from Charteris's 1602 edition as editied by Hamer (see Appendix One, p.429).

****

I N T R O D U C T I O N

No study of Scottish literature - indeed no study of Scottish history - can afford to overlook Sir David Lindsay of the Mount. Hugely popular and enormously influential, he dominates any discussion of sixteenth century literary history. It is, therefore, truly astonishing that such an important figure has failed to attract more attention generally. As a herald, a courtier and a Fife laird, Lindsay's personal history is of interest in its own right but it is that unique legacy, his poetry, which makes him so significant in any discussion of the period. Not only do his works illuminate the events with which he was associated during the course of a long career spent largely at Court, but they also provide a valuable source for a wider analysis of Scottish political and religious culture. By suggesting the ways in which Lindsay formulated his ideas, the sources he drew upon, the audiences he addressed, the attitudes he endorsed, questioned or subverted, this work aims to open up a much broader discussion of Scottish thinking during the Renaissance.

The basic raw material for this type of study has long been available. While it remains almost impossible to gauge how extensively Lindsay was published during his lifetime, it is clear that from the middle of the sixteenth century Scottish audiences could not have enough of their favourite author.[1] Although Lindsay's popularity was to wane over the following years, scholarly attention at least was revived in the nineteenth century with the publication of two impressive editions of his work by George Chalmers and David Laing.[2]

---

1 In the period between his death and the end of the century, no fewer than ten editions of Lindsay's works were published in Scotland, in the seventeenth century, the figure was fifteen (Harry G. Aldis, A List of Books Printed in Scotland Before 1700 (Edinburgh, 1970) n.p.).

2 George Chalmers, The Poetical Works of Sir David Lyndsay of the Mount, 3 vols, (London, 1806); David Laing, The Poetical Works of Sir David Lyndsay, 3 vols, (Edinburgh, 1879).

Extensively annotated and with a great deal of useful - if sometimes inaccurate - biographical information, these still command attention today. Drawing on the work of these respected predecessors, a four volume edition of Lindsay's works was produced for the Scottish Text Society by Douglas Hamer in the 1930s.[3] Considering that only two of these volumes contain actual textual material, it is clear that Hamer's work made a substantial contribution to our understanding of both the poet and his life and this new assessment owes much to his pioneering scholarship. As yet, however, a fully comprehensive historical study of Lindsay, one which looks at all angles of his career and which takes adequate account of his political and cultural environment, has not been attempted. Instead, Lindsay has been claimed almost exclusively by religious or literary scholars. Much stimulating work has been done in these fields notably by the literary critic Dr Janet Williams and by such ecclesiastical historians as Professor James Cameron.[4] Nevertheless, the reluctance, understandable perhaps, of historians to confront the problems thrown up by literary texts still has to be overcome if we are to probe not merely the circumstances of Lindsay's life but also the ideas and attitudes which characterized both his own thinking and the *mentalité* of the period.

---

3 Douglas Hamer, The Works of Sir David Lindsay of the Mount 1490-1555, 4 vols, (S.T.S., 1931-36).

4 J. E. H. Williams, "The Poetry of Sir David Lyndsay of the Mount", Unpublished Ph.D. Thesis, Australian National University, (1978). Dr Williams has since published a number of articles on Lindsay, details of which can be found in the Bibliography. The same applies to the numerous studies of Lindsay's religious position also discussed more fully in Chapter Seven. The work of Professor Cameron in this field although not extensive has been particularly suggestive, see: "Aspects of the Lutheran Contribution to the Scottish Renaissance", R.S.C.H.S., XII, i, (1984) pp.1-12 & "Humanism and the Religious Life", in John MacQueen, ed., Humanism in Renaissance Scotland (Edinburgh, 1990) pp.161-71.

The discussion that follows falls naturally into three sections. Beginning with a detailed consideration of Lindsay's career, it then progresses to a much fuller, more thematic, examination of his work. Anyone looking for a blow-by-blow analysis of Lindsay's work will not find it here (for this reason a short summary of each of his poems is included as an appendix) and although this type of thematic approach poses its own problems, it is essential if the examination of Lindsay and his works is to illuminate the intellectual and cultural background against which he wrote.

Part One (Chapters 1-3) charts Lindsay's arrival at the Court of James IV, his experiences during the minority of 1513-28 and his subsequent employment as a herald. Looking in some detail at the Court of James V, it is argued that Lindsay's activities and attitudes are best seen in relation both to the developing humanistic court culture and to the factional alignments created by the emergence of religious controversy. Tracing the effect the latter had on Lindsay's later career, Chapter Three examines the period following the death of James V when Lindsay was much less tightly bound to the Court and much more associated with some of the highly significant events of the immediate pre-Reformation period. Although much of the biographical material is not new, relating it more precisely to contemporary events and attitudes allows us to appreciate Lindsay's poetry that much more fully. While this essentially chronological section begins to suggest some of Lindsay's particular concerns, these are much more comprehensively analysed in the two sections which follow dealing firstly with what is loosely termed 'the art of government' and secondly with the Church.

Looking in detail at the themes of kingship, government and service, Part Two (Chapters 4-6) suggests some of the ways in which these were understood and articulated by sixteenth century Scots.

Lindsay's depiction of the ideal sovereign - something which lay at the heart of his political thinking - is carefully analysed both with reference to his own experiences and to the concepts and language familiar to his contemporaries. This is not an altogether straightforward business for while in many ways Lindsay clung to a deeply conservative political outlook, in others he offered a more distinctive critique of traditional modes of thinking. Clearly, as a courtier, issues such as kingship directly impinged on Lindsay's life. He did not, however, simply respond to the various images of kingship around him, but, as court poet and herald, he was also involved in their construction and communication. The thesis, therefore, considers the role of a court poet in some detail going on to suggest some of the characteristic features of Stewart court culture during the reigns of James IV and V. Focusing on Lindsay allows us to take this beyond the analysis of literary texts for, as herald and later Lyon King of Arms, Lindsay was heavily involved in occasions of pageantry and public spectacle. Finally, Part Two moves - as did Lindsay himself - from the confines of the Court to the wider community, exploring how this crucial shift influenced not only the audience he addressed but also his political thinking. Ideas of government and service articulated in Lindsay's court poetry are now recast with reference to a much wider social vision, a vision expressed in particular through the emerging ideology of the commonweal.

With Part Three (Chapters 7-9), and the examination of Lindsay's religious attitudes, we are on more familiar territory. Indeed, it is as a critic of the Church, even as an early Protestant, that Lindsay was best loved in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries and is best remembered today. This thesis aims to show, however, that viewing Lindsay's poetry simply as evidence of an ecclesiastical establishment teetering on the brink of moral and institutional collapse is very wide

of the mark. Instead, it points to a much more complex situation, one in which religious attitudes were less than clear cut and the future direction of religious policy far from settled. Unsurprisingly, in a period of great ideological flux, Lindsay's poetry bears the stamp of a wide range of opinion. Seen like this, Lindsay offers a more intriguing study than traditionally assumed, but it is one which more accurately reveals the complexities of religious culture in the crucial decades immediately prior to the Scottish Reformation.

This brings us to the sub-title of this thesis, 'The Religious and Political Culture of Renaissance Scotland', a title which begs one or even two questions. Firstly, what is meant by that oft-used term 'culture'? Secondly, what is meant by that somewhat less familiar phrase, 'Renaissance Scotland'? The concept of culture does not require a great deal of amplification, being used here in its broadest sense to refer simply to the way in which a society or community describes its own experiences, constructs its identity, articulates its attitudes and formulates its actions. Obviously, this study, concentrating as it does on literary texts, can not hope to offer anything like a fully comprehensive account of what we might term religious and political culture, but there is no doubt that Lindsay's poetry provides us with an invaluable insight into the cultural milieu of 'Renaissance Scotland'.

The term 'Renaissance Scotland' was deliberately chosen here in preference to such phrases as 'sixteenth century' or 'pre-Reformation' Scotland which, while they adequately locate Lindsay chronologically, do little to describe him in any other terms. For, just as this study is much more than a trawl through Lindsay's work for topical references, using the description 'Renaissance Scotland' fixes not only Lindsay's historical background but also the wider cultural context in which he wrote. The idea of the Renaissance as a historical period

extending - very loosely - from around the mid-fourteenth century (earlier in Italy) until approximately the beginning of the seventeenth, seems to have been generally accepted.[5] More difficult to define is what we actually mean by the term 'Renaissance'. Even if it were thought desirable, this is not the place to recapitulate that long-running debate.[6] Suffice it to say that, for the purposes of this thesis, the Renaissance is taken to refer - very generally - to the enormous upsurge in enthusiasm for scholarship and the arts inspired by the influence of classical models. As we shall see, rigid definitions are in any case particularly inappropriate as regards Scotland where the influence of the Renaissance was experienced at different times in different fields and where the Renaissance was characterized not by any one prevailing ethos but by the coexistence of many. Cultural developments which we are used to labelling 'Renaissance' - humanism for instance - existed alongside and sometimes interacted with such conventional attitudes as, say, those espoused by the devotees of the more traditional cult of chivalry.

This sense of cultural diversity together with some of the responses it generated are conveyed by Lindsay in highly suggestive form. For this reason his work represents a key source for the study of the Scottish Renaissance. That this has been hitherto largely untapped is due partly to the fact that such studies are in general still comparatively under-researched. A recent publication dealing with the Renaissance, ambitiously entitled The Impact of Humanism on Western Europe, includes chapters on Italy, the Low Countries, France,

5 Denys Hay, "Historians and The Renaissance in the Last Twenty Five Years", in Renaissance Essays (London & Ronceverre, 1988) pp.103-32: Charles Trinkhaus, The Scope of Renaissance Humanism (Ann Arbor, 1983) pp.ix-xxii.

6 See Hay's article cited above and, for a longer perspective, Wallace K. Ferguson, The Renaissance in Historical Thought: Five Centuries of Interpretation (Boston, 1948).

Germany, the Iberian Peninsula and, finally, on England.[7] But of Scotland there is only passing mention. This is not to reach glib conclusions concerning either editorial neglect or Scottish immunity from the effects of this enormously important cultural development. Rather, it stands as testimony to the fledgling status of Scottish Renaissance studies. But, as we shall see, such studies are underway and it is hoped that this work will make its own contribution to them. One reason why such work is still at an early stage is our somewhat patchy understanding of late medieval-early modern Scottish history in general. Unfortunately, this is particularly true for the 1530s, the period during which Lindsay was so active at Court. While this thesis offers a basic political account of the decade drawn from published primary sources, it does not attempt the type of detailed study so urgently required and, although work on the adult reign of James V is in progress, it may seem that to write a cultural history of the period before the appearance of a decent political analysis is asking for trouble.[8] However, while it possesses an inescapable political dimension, this thesis is primarily concerned with ideas and attitudes - how they were formulated, how they were expressed - and, consequently, it aims to complement rather than pre-empt any straightforward political account of the reign.

Inevitably, this type of study raises important and contentious methodological questions concerning the use of literary texts as historical source material. Can the imaginative works of any one individual tell us anything either about his own life or about the culture of which he was part? This thesis confidently asserts that

---

7 Anthony Goodman & Angus MacKay ed., The Impact of Humanism on Western Europe (London & New York, 1990).

8 Crown-magnate relations in the personal reign of James V are the subject of research currently being undertaken at St Andrews University by J. Cameron.

they can. Literature is, after all, just as much a cultural or social activity as fighting a war, striking a trading agreement or enforcing a law and, as such, it is just as open to historical investigation. While the representations of society it offers may not be accurate, they are reflective; reflective of the value systems of the author, the language available to him and his aims and intentions. This line of argument makes clear the methodological debts owed here to the type of approach pioneered by Quentin Skinner and the 'Cambridge group'.[9] Insisting upon the need for sensitive contextualization, Skinner persuasively argues that this holds the key to understanding both an author and the cultural environment with which he engaged. Retrieving once familiar mental and linguistic landscapes enables the identification of the various ways in which an author used the different conceptual frameworks available to him, pointing the way to the recovery of authorial intentions. A somewhat different contextualizing approach has been adopted by some literary scholars, the so called 'New Historicists'.[10] Although their methods pose several problems for the historian, notably the reliance upon a very select number of 'privileged' texts, the often superficial grasp of historical context and the frequently impenetrable jargon, some stimulating work in this field has, to a more limited extent, also helped inform the approach adopted here.

---

9 Skinner and his colleagues have refined their ideas over a period of time, see, for example: Quentin Skinner, "Meaning and Understanding in the History of Ideas", History and Theory, VIII, (1969) pp.1-53; Peter Laslett, W. G. Runciman, Quentin Skinner, Philosophy, Politics and Society (Oxford, 1972); James Tully ed., Quentin Skinner and his Critics (Cambridge, 1988). See too Skinner's own work, The Foundations of Modern Political Thought, 2 vols., (Cambridge, 1978).

10 This approach has been particularly associated with the work of Stephen Greenblatt, see for example: Learning to Curse, Essays in Early Modern Culture (New York & London, 1990). For a discussion of New Historicist criticism, see: Jean E. Howard, "The New Historicism in Renaissance Studies", English Literary Renaissance, 16, (1986) pp.13-43.

Almost thirty years ago, an early historian of the Scottish Renaissance commented on the difficulty - and the necessity - of trying "to pin down a climate of thought".[11] "Historians who prefer tidiness to grappling with realities", he wrote, "have an understandable impatience with what they feel is a flight from footnotes and factuality. The risks are great; it may be necessary to take them". With some notable exceptions, few have dared to pick up the gauntlet. What follows aims to demonstrate not only that such a history should be written, but also that by adopting the type of approach followed here, such a history can be written.

---

11 John Durkan, "The Cultural Background in Sixteenth Century Scotland", in David McRoberts, ed., Essays on the Scottish Reformation (Glasgow, 1962) pp.274-331, p.292.

P A R T I

SIR DAVID LINDSAY: LIFE AND CAREER

Pass vp, and schaw, in oppin audience,
Solempnitlie, with ornate eloquence,
At greit laser, the legend of my life,
How I haue stand in monie stalwart strife.
(The Historie of Squyer Meldrum, 165-68)

Chapter One

Background and Beginnings: 1486-1530

While far from parochial in theme and scope, the poetry of David Lindsay of the Mount is nevertheless very firmly located within the context of sixteenth century Scotland. In particular, Lindsay is invariably associated with that most enigmatic of Stewart monarchs, James V. However, we must remember that at the beginning of James's personal rule, the period to which the first of Lindsay's surviving works relate, the poet was already over forty years of age. Clearly, then, it is extremely important to recover - so far as is possible - the first decades of Lindsay's life and to try to identify some of the influences upon him. Unfortunately, the first and most important point to make is a negative one as the dearth of available evidence makes it extremely difficult to draw any concrete conclusions concerning Lindsay's attitudes and actions during his early years. Nevertheless, intelligent speculation based upon the careful use of existing sources and the informed reading of his work combine to offer a valuable study of this important period and a useful analysis of its more significant aspects; namely, Lindsay's family background, his local community, his involvement at the Court of James IV and his experiences during the subsequent minority.

The Lindsays of the Mount were a minor branch of the family Lindsay. At the apex of the Lindsay hierarchy stood the Earls of Crawford but of much more significance in the daily lives of the Lindsays were the Lords Lindsay of the Byres, one of the principal magnate families of Fife. The family tree (Appendix 2) illustrates the relationship between the two branches of the family and also Lindsay's own immediate progenitors.[1] As can be seen, the blood relationship

1 The accuracy of this genealogy has been the subject of debate. Compare, for example, Sir Thomas Innes of Learney, "Sir David Lindsay of the Mount", Scottish Notes & Queries, XIII, (1935) p.145

between the Lindsays of the Mount and the Byres was, by the sixteenth century, somewhat dilute. Yet, personal relations were probably close. Not only did the Lindsays of the Mount hold land of their noble kinsfolk, but the geographical proximity of their estates both in Fife and East Lothian promoted routine contact. (The principal seat of the Lords Lindsay, Ochterotherstruther, lay less than 8 km from the Mount, while Garleton and the Byres in East Lothian were similarly close.[2]) Further evidence to support a reasonably intimate relationship is found in Lindsay's own poem, The Testament of Squyer Meldrum, with its references to Lord Lindsay, his wife and children and to the daily routine at Struthers (205-9). Those Lords Lindsay contemporaneous with the poet were Patrick, Fourth Lord Lindsay (d.1526) and his grandson, John, the Fifth Lord (d.1563). Both men were important figures at Court and within the locality (holding, for example, the sheriffship of Fife).[3] While the Lords Lindsay held lands throughout southern and central Scotland - specifically in East Lothian and in the sheriffdoms of Fife, Ayr, Linlithgow and Perth - their landed base lay principally in the first two areas named.[4] Their Lothian lands included the estate of Garleton (or Garmilton)-Alexander which lay some 3 Km north of Haddington and had first been acquired by the family in the thirteenth century.[5] By the sixteenth century, this property, held by the Lords

---

with Chalmers, Lyndsay, I, p.3; Laing, Lyndsay, I, p.ix; & Hamer, Works, IV, p.283.

2 O.S. Sheet 59, St Andrews and Kirkcaldy, Landranger Ser.,(1987) & O.S. Sheet 66, Edinburgh, Second Ser., (1976). Concerning the relative importance of blood ties on the one hand and physical interaction on the other, see: J. Wormald, Lords and Men in Scotland 1442-1603 (Edinburgh, 1985) pp.80-83.

3 For further genealogical and biographical information, see: Sir J. Balfour Paul, The Scots Peerage, 9 vols, (Edinburgh, 1904-14) V, pp.391-91.

4 W. Fraser, Memorials of the Earls of Haddington, 2 vols, (Edinburgh, 1889) I, pp.340-41.

5 Ibid., I, p.281.

Lindsay of the Crown, was in turn granted to the family of the Mount.[6] That it was not, however, the latter's principal estate seems clear from their preferred title, "of the Mount", and Fife rather than East Lothian represents Lindsay's true home territory. The Mount, held by Lindsay of David Petblado of that Ilk (d.1544), had already been in the family for several generations.[7] "David Lindissay de Mont" (the poet's grandfather) appears in the records in 1467 and again a year later witnessing a charter which refers to his father, the late William Lindsay of Garleton.[8] It seems, therefore, that this David Lindsay was the first to hold the two estates in conjunction. The Lindsay estates in both Fife and East Lothian were held heritably by charter. Although such lands were technically held of a feudal superior (the tenant-in-chief of the king) and hence reverted to him on the holder's death, in practice they were automatically passed onto the holder's heirs according to the law of succession.[9] Consequently, the Lindsays enjoyed reasonable security of tenure and were established members of the local community. Does this mean, as has often been asserted, that Lindsay was a Fife laird? The technical definition of the lairdly class has been the topic of some debate with it being suggested that, strictly speaking, lairds were freeholders of the Crown. Although such a definition excludes Lindsay, we should remember that social distinctions below the magnate ranks were frequently ill-defined and cadet branches of noble houses were often sufficiently well established

---

6 E.g. R.M.S., III, no.2256. (John, Lord Lindsay confirmed in his lands including Garleton.)

7 Ibid., III, nos.1781 & 2748.

8 Ibid., II, no.911 & Hist. MSS. Comm. XII, viii, pp.142-43, (MSS of the Earl of Hume).

9 Margaret H. B. Sanderson, Scottish Rural Society in the Sixteenth Century (Edinburgh, 1982) p.24.

to be reckoned on their own terms.[10] Interestingly, Lindsay illustrates how blurred the social boundaries were when he styles himself "the Anscient laird", (The Complaynt, 262). Clearly he considered himself of some social standing and any analysis of Lindsay's life and thinking can not afford to overlook this self-perception.

Unfortunately, only a limited impression of the Lindsay estates can be gleaned from existing records.[11] This is, however, worthy of consideration. The first point to note is that Lindsay's estates were relatively small. He held only *"dimedietatem terrarum de le Month"*, the other half being held - also of the Petblados - by John Moncure of the Mount and his wife, Katherine Forret.[12] The charters by which Lindsay held the Mount give some idea of the composition of the estate *"cum toftis, croftis, ortis, pomeriis et le orchardis"*.[13] Less is known of Garleton but a rough idea of the relative value of the two estates is suggested by the fact that if the lands fell into wardship then the holders would pay forty shillings and twenty shillings *per annum* for the Mount and for Garleton respectively.[14] That the Mount was the Lindsay's principal estate meant that Lindsay would maintain close links with the Fife community. (And yet, he was not ignorant of

10 Ibid., p.78.

11 With regard to Garleton-Alexander, further information would perhaps be contained in the Writs of Inventories associated with the sale of 1724, unavailable today, but referred to by Laing, Lyndsay, I, p.viii. Concerning the Mount, Hamer quotes a curious notice of 1713 advertising the loss of 'the old Writs and Evidents of the lands of the Mount', which, if found, would prove interesting (Hamer, Works, IV, p.281).

12 R.M.S., III, nos.1781 & 2631.

13 Ibid., III, no.1781. The toft was a small piece of land for cultivation attached to the house, the croft an area enclosed for tillage while *pomeriis* and *ortis* refer to orchards (Sanderson, Scottish Rural Society, pp.248-56).

14 R.M.S., III, no.1781.

life in East Lothian as is illustrated by the appearance of a Poor Man of Tranent in Ane Satyre of the Three Estatis.)

At the beginning of the sixteenth century, Fife was an important area geographically, economically and politically; as a later sixteenth century commentator noted, "it abound[ed] in everything necessary for the support of life".[15] Agriculture, fishing, trade, the coal pits and saltpans all contributed to the prosperity of the region and there were a number of thriving burghs, notably Cupar, Falkland and St Andrews. Lindsay's estates lay just outside Cupar but he would have been equally familiar with all three towns. The leading county figures were also three in number: the Earl of Rothes, Lord Sinclair and Lord Lindsay of the Byres. There were in addition a large number of small landowners, many of them tenants of the Church or Crown, who together comprised what one historian has labelled "an assertive race of small lairds and freeholders."[16] Such families included the Learmonths of Dairsie, the Melvilles of Raith and the Woods of Largo. The Lindsays of the Mount, while not technically freeholders, certainly fit within this category. Increasingly, representatives of these Fife families were employed in the service of the Crown either in the locality or at Court; for example, Sir James Learmonth of Dairsie was for many years Master of Household to James V while the Woods of Largo, father and son, served as sea-captains to both James IV and V. Within this context, the career of David Lindsay, remarkable in many respects, was not without parallel among the lairds of Fife. Despite long years spent in service to the Crown, Lindsay did not sever connections with his local

---

15 James Aikman ed. & trans. The History of Scotland from the Earliest Period to the Regency of the Earl of Moray by George Buchanan, 6 vols, (Glasgow, 1845) I, p.30.

16 Margaret H. B. Sanderson, Cardinal of Scotland, David Beaton c.1494-1546 (Edinburgh, 1986) p.7. Sanderson suggests that this spirit was the product of 'a rough equality of resources' (p.7).

community and, arguably, the prevalence of Fife men at Court helped maintain a sense of local identity. Certainly, in the period after 1543 when he was no longer so closely bound to the central administration, Lindsay's ties with the area assume particular significance. Later works, notably Squyer Meldrum and Ane Satyre of the Thrie Estatis, testify to an enduring acquaintance with the county and its population.

When we look at Lindsay's early life, perhaps the most striking point of all is the sheer paucity of evidence relating to it. Nevertheless, a speculative reconstruction of some aspects of these early years is possible and this provides a valuable backdrop to later events and attitudes. Lindsay was born the eldest of five sons but even the date of his birth is unclear.[17] The traditionally accepted birthdate, 1490, first proposed in 1806 by George Chalmers, was based upon the entry of one "DA. LINDESAY" among the incorporated students of St Andrews University for the year 1508 or 1509. Arguing that Lindsay would have matriculated three years earlier at the age of fifteen, Chalmers arrived at a birthdate of 1490.[18] This is unsatisfactory for two reasons. Firstly, university records do not necessarily provide an accurate indication of the age of students embarking upon study. Secondly, there is no conclusive evidence that the reference in the university records is in fact to David Lindsay of the Mount and, indeed, as we shall see, there are good grounds for thinking that it is not. Lindsay's most recent general editor, Douglas Hamer, tentatively suggests that he was born "a little before October 19 1486".[19] Hamer

17 We know of Lindsay's brothers, John, Alexander, Patrick and a second David from Lindsay's arrangements for the inheritance of his lands. (R.M.S., III, nos.2529 & 2748.)

18 Chalmers, Lyndsay, I, p.4. For the entry in the university records, see: James Maitland Anderson, ed., Early Records of the University of St Andrews 1413-1579 (S.H.S., 1926) p.208.

19 Hamer, Works, IV, p.ix. However, Hamer's doubts about the validity

bases this proposition upon a charter of October 19 1507, granted by Patrick, Lord Lindsay of the Byres confirming *"dilecto nostro consanguineo David Lindesay filio et heredi appparenti David Lindesay de Month nostri eciam consanguinei"* in the lands of Garleton-Alexander. Unfortunately, the charter in question, quoted by Laing and accepted by Hamer, is only partially reproduced and inadequately referenced.[20] If it may be accepted as evidence, it indicates that Lindsay - who must have been of age by this date (1507) - was born at least before October 1486.

Not only the date, but also the place of Lindsay's birth is uncertain although he was probably born on the family estates. Thereafter, little is known of Lindsay's early life. With regard to his early education, we can only consider the general conditions within Renaissance Scotland and surmise how Lindsay's experiences related to this overall scheme. In his History of Greater Britain, published in 1521, John Mair lamented that "the gentry educate their children neither in letters nor morals".[21] Yet, as one commentator has argued, he can have been writing in general terms only, for if, as Mair also asserts, even the meanest laird kept a household chaplain there would have been at least some educational provision for his children and probably also for the off-spring of favoured tenants.[22] Furthermore, as Mair's own upbringing illustrates, children could receive a decent academic grounding in the school of the nearest sizable town. There

---

of the evidence used to support this date cause him to retain the traditional date for the purposes of the family tree. (IV, pp.283-84.)

20 Laing, Lyndsay, I, p.ix.

21 Archibald Constable, trans. & ed., A History of Greater Britain as well England as Scotland, John Mair (1521), (S.H.S., 1892) p.48.

22 J. Durkan, "Education, the Laying of Fresh Foundations", in John MacQueen, ed., Humanism in Renaissance Scotland (Edinburgh, 1990) pp.123-159, p.124.

were, therefore, several ways in which Lindsay could have received his early education. He could have been taught by a family chaplain (either his own or that of another local family such as the Lindsays of the Byres) or he could have attended a local school (the grammar and song school at St Andrews priory or one of the grammar schools at Cupar and Haddington seem the most obvious candidates).[23] Typically the curriculum would have focused upon *grammaticalia* and may also have incorporated the other subjects of the *trivium*; namely, rhetoric and dialectic. Basic arithmetic, reckoning by tallies as well as in paper notebooks, was also taught at some grammar schools.[24] The ideals of Renaissance humanism appear to have exercised a discernible influence upon grammar school education in the first half of the sixteenth century and it has been argued that Greek and even Hebrew were being taught in some of Scotland's more notable towns.[25] Writing in his old age, Lindsay referred to these educational developments, developments which he had witnessed in his own lifetime but which he had not benefited from personally:

> Nochtwithstanding, I thynk it gret plesour,
> Quhare cunnyng men hes languagis anew,
> That, in thare youth, be deligent labour,
> Hes leirnit Latyne, Greik, and old Hebrew.
> That I am Nocht of that sorte sore I rew:
> (The Monarche, 594-98)

We know from the range of sources cited in his works that, these lines notwithstanding, Lindsay was a reasonably competent Latinist. Nevertheless, his comment may be more than simple poetic exaggeration. Not only were new languages being introduced but new approaches to the

---

23 The latter numbered amongst its pupils John Mair, Robert Cockburn and possibly John Knox and appears to have been an institution of some repute.

24 J. Durkan, "Education in the Century of the Reformation", in David McRoberts, ed., Essays on the Scottish Reformation 1513-1625 (Glasgow, 1962) pp.145-69, p.152.

25 Ibid., p.153.

study of traditional Latin were emphasized and it is probably to this that these lines draw attention.[26]

As mentioned above, the name "DA. LINDESAY" appears amongst the incorporated students of St Salvator's College for the year 1508 or 1509.[27] However, the name David Lindsay was common enough and it can not be safely assumed that this was the poet. That it was is rendered unlikely by the fact that, throughout his long career, Lindsay was very rarely addressed as "Master", the common title for those with a university degree.[28] Moreover, in 1508, "*unus vocatus Lyndesay*" was already at Court "*in averia quondom domini principis*".[29] While identifying the poet with this entry is equally speculative, the records of Court and University can hardly refer to the same individual. In view of Lindsay's later career, it seems probable that this position in the Stable represents his first recorded appearance at Court. It was also around this time that Lindsay may have received the grant of Garleton-Alexander noted above. The charter confirming him in these lands reveals that they were formerly in the possession of his grandfather (who must have died at about this point).[30] His father, however, was probably still alive until around the year 1524, at which

---

26 Medieval Latin was characterized by a loose word order based on the patterns of popular speech which owed little to the eloquence of antiquity. However, humanist stress on rhetoric and the study of classical texts fostered a greater elegance of expression more closely related to classical Latin.

27 Interestingly, it appears on a list which includes 'Da. Beaton' and the notable Lutherans, John Borthwick and John Gau (Early Records of the University of St Andrews, pp.203-04).

28 He is once so named (A.P.S., II, p.429) but such references are so scarce as to suggest that this was a clerical error.

29 E.R., XIII, p.127. ('In the Stable of the late Prince'.)

30 Thus, the charter refers to *'quas terras de Garmiltoun cum pertinen. quondam David Lindesay consanguineus noster AVUS DICTI DAVID habuit hereditarie et de nobis tenuit & co'.* Dated 19 October 1507 & the sasine 6 April 1508 (Laing, Lyndsay, I, p.ix).

point Lindsay and his wife received the Mount from David Petblado.[31] The settlement of Garleton upon Lindsay at this stage of his life looks remarkably like family provision for an elder son, recently come of age and embarked upon an independent life, and it may well mark the point at which Lindsay left home to begin his career at Court.

Exactly how Lindsay arrived at the Court of James IV and secured a position there is, like so many aspects of his early life, unclear. Certainly, living at the Mount, the young Lindsay would have been familiar with the Court as it travelled between Edinburgh, Falkland and St Andrews, but whether he became attached to it in an informal manner or whether he was introduced there by an influential patron is not clear. If the latter is the case, then his most likely patron would have been Patrick, Lord Lindsay who occupied a reasonably prominent position at Court (for example, appearing as one of the witnesses to the royal marriage settlement).[32] However, there is nothing in Lindsay's poetry to suggest the existence of such a benefactor. Admittedly, his earliest extant work dates from 1528 - some twenty years after his probable arrival at Court. Yet, had Lindsay owed anything to a patron, there would surely have been some reference to the relationship within the corpus of his work. It is, perhaps, less than fruitful to speculate upon the precise circumstances surrounding Lindsay's arrival, suffice it to note the entry in the records which suggests his first position was in the stable of the elder prince James who died in infancy in February 1508.[33] Unfortunately, the Treasurer's Accounts for the period August 1508-August 1511 no longer survive and the details of Lindsay's early career - so far as can be gleaned from

---

31 R.M.S., III, no.1781.

32 A.P.S., II, p.270.

33 E.R., XIII, p.127.

such sources - are lost. Although the 1508 reference is, perhaps, questionable in relation to Lindsay, a David Lindsay - almost certainly the poet - was established at Court by 1511 when he is recorded as receiving a pension of £40.[34] It was probably also Lindsay who that same year received "ii ½ elnis blew taffatis and vi quartaris yallow taffatis to be ane play coit...for the play playt in the King and Quenis presence in the Abbay".[35] Although we know nothing of the details of this performance, it is significant that Lindsay's involvement in court entertainment can be dated to the earliest years of his career. It seems likely that Lindsay continued to be associated with the King's sons during this period and he probably served Prince Arthur (October 1509-July 1510), as he had the elder Prince James and would his younger brother (also Prince James). Thus Lindsay's next recorded appearance is as "ischar to the Prince", the prince in question being the future James V, born in April 1512.[36] Lindsay would later describe himself serving James since "The day of [his] Natyuitie" and this chronology, albeit designed to stress the fidelity of an old servant, seems approximately accurate (The Complaynt, 16). A notarial document of 22 March 1513, illustrating that Lindsay was making arrangements to reside in Edinburgh, provides further confirmation that he was settling to a life at Court.[37]

Lindsay's early years at Court represent an important and influential period of his life. Little is definitely known of his

---

34 T.A., IV, p.169.

35 Ibid., IV, p.313.

36 Ibid., IV, p.441.

37 Thus one John Wilson acquired the sasine of a tenement on the south side of the High Street 'in the name of David Lindsay of Garmylton'. Protocol Book of John Foular, I, 168 (no.886) noted by R. Lyall, Sir David Lindsay of the Mount: Ane Satyre of the Three Estatis (Edinburgh, 1989) p.xv.

activities but his later poetry clearly reveals how his experiences shaped his ideas concerning kingship, government and princely majesty. Recollecting his early career, Lindsay viewed the reign of James IV as something of a golden age, notable for the virtue of the sovereign, the strength of his justice and the glittering splendour of his court:

> Allace, quhare bene that rycht redoutit Roye,
> That Potent prince, gentyll king Iames the feird?
> I pray to Christe his Saule for to conuoye;
> Ane greater noble rang nocht in to the eird.
> O Atropus, warye we may thy weird,
> For he wes myrrour of humilitie,
> Lode sterne and lampe of libiralytie.
>
> During his tyme so iustice did preuaill,
> The Sauage Iles trymblit for terrour;
> Eskdale, Euisdale, Liddisdale, and Annerdale
> Durste nocht rebell, doutyng his dyntis dour,
> And of his Lordis had sic perfyte fauour:
> So, for to schaw that he aferit no fone,
> Out throuch his realme he wald ryde hym alone.
>
> And of his court, throuch Europe sprang the fame
> Off lustie Lordis and lufesum Ladyis ying,
> Triumphand tornayis, iusting & knychtly game,
> With all pastyme according for one kyng.
> He wes the glore of princelie gouernyng,
> (The Testament of the Papyngo, 486-504)

Written in 1530, close on the heels of a long and troubled minority, this may represent an exaggeration born of nostalgia for what - in retrospect - seemed halcyon days of untroubled government. The extravagance of Lindsay's panegyric is also partially explained by the need to provide a contrast to the dismal events of 1513 and to set before James's son a stirring example of the ideals of kingship. Nevertheless, Lindsay's assessment of the reign (Flodden apart) has been endorsed by James's most recent biographer who stresses that by virtue of committed military leadership, effective fiscal policies, tight control of the Church, sound delegation of local authority and a prodigious physical stamina, James's kingship was both popular and successful.[38] The colourful interests of the King, his flirtation with

38 Norman Macdougall, James IV (Edinburgh, 1989) For a discussion of The Testament of the Papyngo and Lindsay's assessment of James's

alchemy and forays into dentistry and medicine are well known, but eclectic as James's interests may have been, those which mattered most to him were very largely traditional. While large sums were expended on architecture, by far the greatest outlay was military, on the navy and on artillery.[39] The royal interest in warfare also manifested itself in lavish tournaments, notably that of 1508, a three day long *pas d'armes*, held at Holyrood in defence of the "Black Lady".[40] Involving champions from France, England and Denmark, it was James himself, the mysterious "Black Knight", who won the day. Whether Lindsay was associated with this type of court entertainment can only be a matter for speculation - although his position in the Stable certainly supports such an idea. Indeed, the extravagant festivities may even have been the reason for his appointment in the first place. Certainly, participation in such events would have enabled the acquisition of knowledge necessary for Lindsay's later heraldic career. Perhaps too Lindsay was involved not only in the mock combat but also in the preparations for the accompanying spectacles, the most magnificent of which was the "gret triumphe and bancat" held in 1508.[41] On this occasion, the feasting was interrupted with farces and plays (either spoken or presented as *tableaux vivants*) such as the Black Lady's descent from a cloud, a spectacle which prefigures similar entertainments arranged by Lindsay later in life.

Given the difficulties involved in pinpointing Lindsay's position at Court, any analysis of his associates is equally if not more

---

Court, see: pp.293-95.

39 Ibid., p.228.

40 J. Lesley, The History of Scotland from the Death of King James I in the Year 1436 to the Year 1561 (Bannatyne Club, 1830), p.78 and AE. J. G. McKay, ed., Robert Lindesay of Pitscottie, The History and Chronicles of Scotland, 3 vols, (S.T.S., 1899-1911) I, pp.242-44.

41 Pitscottie, Chronicles, I, p.244.

problematic. We might begin by noting that as servant to the young princes, Lindsay would have been closely associated with the household of the queen, Margaret Tudor. Although the records are by no means complete, it seems that the King and Queen had separate households and separate accounts at least by 1508 for which year (25 January-4 August) there is a separate account relating specifically to Margaret's household.[42] This includes the payment to the groom Lindsay in the Prince's Stable. While there are no more such accounts, it seems fair to conclude that Lindsay was attached, at least for some part of his career, to Margaret's household, a significant fact when considering the development of his attitude to England and to Anglo-Scottish relations. His attachment to the Queen's household probably explains his acquaintance with Sir James Inglis, Clerk to the Closet of James IV, Chaplain to Prince James, Chancellor of the Chapel Royal and, after 1515, Secretary to the Queen.[43] Inglis is mentioned by Lindsay in The Testament of the Papyngo as a fellow poet and Sir James, the author of "ballatts, farses, and...plesand playis", might well have been responsible for the young Lindsay's interest and possible involvement in such productions (40-42). In 1512, Inglis and "his collegis" received money for "play cottis" (these colleagues may well have included Lindsay, especially as the latter had been involved in the performance at Holyrood Abbey the previous year) and in 1526 Inglis was recorded as being involved in the production of Christmas entertainments for the Court.[44] This type of dramatic activity represents one element of what was becoming an increasingly important aspect of court life. The political stability of the reign (after 1497)

---

42 E.R., XIII, pp.lxxvi-lxxx.

43 T.A., IV, p.268 & V, p.199, 310 & 438.

44 Ibid., IV, p.321 & V, p.316.

fostered the celebration of a self-confident court culture expressed for example in the spectacle of the Great Tournament and in poetry, pageantry and drama. The Testament of the Papyngo reveals Lindsay's acquaintance with the works of the great Scots makars, Gavin Douglas and William Dunbar, works which greatly added to the splendour and prestige of the Court and which undoubtedly helped foster Lindsay's own poetic development. The dual function of the court as both instrument of government and cultural centre meant that the boundaries between the two activities were frequently blurred. Particularly true with regard to court poetry and the tradition of advice-giving, this was undoubtedly an important influence upon Lindsay; later in life, he would build upon this role, setting forth an agenda for reform both of Church and state which was not only that of an individual poet and King's familiar but may be said to represent something of the demands of an increasingly articulate and involved laity.

Lindsay was influenced not only by the court culture of James's reign but also by specific events. As his assessment of James IV suggests, the firm demonstration of royal authority in restoring justice and order earned his respect. This was to be an important thematic ideal in Lindsay's poetry and, although his works were written in response to later events, his interest and concern were clearly aroused even before the accession of James V. This is particularly true with regard to Lindsay's attitude to the traditional role of the king as the defender of his people. Here, the events surrounding the disastrous Scottish defeat inflicted by the English at Flodden in 1513 exercised an important influence on his thinking. Lindsay's response to the war is perhaps suggested by his involvement in a mysterious episode supposedly occurring prior to Flodden. The principal source for this is Robert Lindsay of Pitscottie and, although Pitscottie is often unreliable, the fact that Lindsay himself was his probable source

for the episode means that it requires consideration. Pitscottie relates that on the eve of the battle of Flodden, James IV arrived at Linlithgow and, while praying in the Church of St Michael, was visited by a man in a blue gown with loose fair hair who warned him against involvement both with women and the proposed English campaign. Pitscottie continues:

> I hard say Schir David Lyndsay Lyoun harrott and Iohne Inglische the mairchall quho war at that tyme young men and spetiall servandis to the kingis grace war standand presentlis besyde the king quho thocht to have layit handis on this man that they might have speirit forder tydingis at him bot all for nocht; they could not tueiche him ffor he wanishit away betuix them and was no more seen.[45]

The story was later repeated by George Buchanan who cites Lindsay himself, "a man of unsuspected probity and veracity", as his authority.[46] It is probably true that Lindsay was with the King (more specifically with Margaret and her son) at Linlithgow on this occasion. That he spent some time there is suggested by the payment of six shillings he received for the construction of a door in the north tower (1513).[47] However, our verdict on the episode must remain "not proven" and it is unlikely that the truth of the matter will ever be known. It has been suggested that it represents a scheme devised by those opposed to the war to deter the King from taking to the field against England.[48] However, the existence of such a faction is problematic,

---

45 Pitscottie, Chronicles, I, p.259. John Inglis certainly seems to have merited this description of Pitscottie's, not only did they shoot together but the King also christened Inglis's child (T.A., IV, p.104 & 105).

46 Buchanan, The History of Scotland, II, p.190.

47 T.A., IV, p.523.

48 Laing suggests it was a scheme initiated by Margaret (Lyndsay, I, p.xiv.). A similar idea is advanced by R. L. Mackie, James IV, A Brief Survey of his Life and Times (Edinburgh, 1958) pp.243-44. According to Macdougall, there may be some merit in this interpretation (James IV, p.265). With no evidence to support his contention, Hamer maintains that if it was a trick, then 'Lindsay was not a party to it', (Works, IV, p.xi).

the Flodden campaign being remarkable for the large numbers who turned out to follow their monarch into battle.[49] It may be, therefore, that this story - circulated after 1513 - represents wisdom only after the event - for if Buchanan did hear the story from Lindsay's lips, then this could only have been in the mid 1530s when the former was at Court. The legend seems, therefore, to have been a creation of later years born out of Flodden and fostered by abortive attempts to rouse the country against England in the 1520s. While Lindsay may have had a hand in the story of the mysterious apparition, it was probably designed to deter not James IV but his son from the vices of the flesh and the adoption of a bellicose foreign policy. Lindsay's response to the Flodden campaign (whether inspired by ghostly visions or not) sowed the seeds of what would become a profound unease with the military identity of the king and nourished his growing concern with the whole question of war.

James IV's death at the battle of Flodden left his infant son as King and precipitated an acute political crisis within the realm. The experience was one which deeply influenced Lindsay, alerting him to problems associated with the breakdown of strong monarchical authority and to the threat posed to the commonweal by the abuse of power. Evidence relating to Lindsay's career during the minority of James V is more plentiful than that concerning his early life. Not only can he be traced in the records, he also discusses the period in his poetry, notably in The Dreme, The Complaynt and The Testament of the Papyngo.

James V was crowned at Stirling shortly after his father's death and it seems as if Lindsay continued in his service.[50] Between 1517 and 1523 he is variously described as Keeper of the King's Grace,

---

49 Macdougall, James IV, pp.265-66.

50 *Vitae Dunkeldensis Ecclesias Episcoporum A Prima Sedis Fundatione as annum MDXV, Alexandro Myln*, (Bannatyne Club, 1831) p.47.

Usher, Master Usher, and Gentleman of the Bedchamber or Household of the King.[51] In 1517, he is actually described as Master of the Household, but it seems improbable that he actually occupied this influential position which was held, in 1516 at least, by the Earl of Argyll.[52] Unfortunately, the picture is further muddied as the accounts are again missing for the period September 1518-June 1522. When they resume, Lindsay has reverted to the position of Master Usher or "*hostario domini regis*" and we do not know how he was employed in the intervening period.[53] Hamer writes:

> The fact that in 1517 Lindsay is styled Master of the King's Household and in 1522 Master Usher, makes it likely that he was the Master of the Household whom Pitscottie records, with many other servants, as being dismissed when the King's household was restaffed in 1524.[54]

However, his eccentric chronology renders Hamer's explanation somewhat unsatisfactory; for although Lindsay was dismissed in 1524, he was no longer, if ever, acting as Master of the Household.

A somewhat more detailed, certainly more colourful, picture of the exact nature of Lindsay's duties can be obtained from his own poetry. In his first extant work, The Dreme, Lindsay reminds James how he acted as "...seware, Coppare, and Caruoure,/ Thy purs maister, and secreit Thesaurare,/ Thy Yshare,.../ And of thy chamber cheiffe Cubiculare" (21-24). Lindsay's litany of household offices is obviously not a precise reference to his own official duties, but his supervisory (even fussy) attitude indicates the depth of his concern for the King's

---

51 T.A., V, p.127 & 112; E.R., IV, p.242; R.S.S., I, no.3164; T.A., V, p.196; E.R. XIV, p.462 & XV, p.44.

52 Lindsay is described as 'The Kingis master of household' (T.A., V, p.160), Argyll as '*magistro hospitii domini regis*' (E.R., XIV, p.194).

53 T.A., V, p.196 & E.R., XIV, p.462 & XV, p.44.

54 Hamer, Works, III, p.11.

welfare. Lindsay's snapshot of James's household is confirmed by a document outlining arrangements made in August 1522:

> There sall be with the Kings Grace ane Master of Household, ane coppar, ane carver, pantreman, verlotts of his chalmer, ane prest to say him mess, his ushar, cuke, clerk of the expenss.[55]

In addition, Lindsay's poetry vividly evokes the more personal aspect of his service and he reminds James:

> Quhen thow wes young, I bure the in myne arme
> Full tenderlie, tyll thow begouth to gang,
> And in thy bed oft happit the full warme,
> With lute in hand, syne, sweitlie to the sang:
> Sometyme, in dansing, feiralie I flang;
> And, sumtyme, playand fairsis on the flure;
> And, sumtyme, on myne office takand cure;
> (The Dreme, 8-14)

Lindsay's close relationship with the young King has several significant implications. It can not have failed to have coloured the later relations of sovereign and servant and it may help explain Lindsay's rise to high office together with the freedom he felt in proffering the King his advice and criticisms. Furthermore, the experience afforded Lindsay a practical insight into the upbringing and education of one destined to rule. This issue greatly concerned Lindsay, as indeed it did a large number of Renaissance thinkers, and his personal experiences led him to consider it with more than the theoretician's academic interest. Lindsay was not himself tutor to the King, that responsibility was held by Gavin Dunbar, Dean of Moray, Prior of Whithorn and future Archbishop of Glasgow. Nevertheless, Lindsay must have played a significant role in shaping the young King's consciousness. Additionally, Lindsay's involvement in James's upbringing would have brought him into contact with Dunbar, a man with "an incredible affection towards the votaries of learning", who indeed was amongst those called upon by Lindsay to testify to the latter's

---

55 "Ordinance for the Keeping of James V", Hist. MSS. Comm. Report on the MSS of the Earl of Mar and Kellie (1904) p.11.

relationship with the King (The Complaynt, 82).[56] Contact and communication with the King's preceptor may help explain how it was that Lindsay, a relatively uneducated man, acquired the type of knowledge evidenced in his works. This in turn reveals the extent to which the Court - even in times of political instability - could act as a medium for the transmission of learning. Although we know that James's education began when he was six years old, further details are almost impossible to ascertain.[57] The remains of his tutor's library provide little help consisting as they do of volumes published only after the King's childhood.[58] In The Complaynt, Lindsay describes James as "lernand vertew and science" (36). This meagre account of the royal education is supplemented by a sketchy outline of the preceptor's duties found in a document relating to "the keeping of James V" drawn up in August 1522 when James was placed under the supervision of Lord Erskine:

> He [Erskine] sall be his scule master that sall wait on his Grace and instruct him in all gude vertuis, to reid and write and to speke Latin and Fransh; and the said master to ly in the Kingis chalmer and the usher togidder with the verletts of the chalmer.[59]

Although the pedagogic programme is far from detailed, it is interesting to note the close association of King, tutor and usher for

---

56 The author of this statement, David Panter, is quoted by D. E. Easson, Gavin Dunbar (Edinburgh & London, 1947) p.4. Buchanan judged him 'upright and learned but rather deficient in political knowledge' (History of Scotland, II, p.239).

57 R. K. Hannay & Denys Hay, The Letters of James V (Edinburgh, 1954) p.388. James's recollection is confirmed by Dunbar's first recorded appearance in his service in February 1517 (T.A., V, p.111).

58 They include the *Determinatio* against Erasmus issued by the Sorbonne - although any opposition Dunbar felt towards Erasmus was probably on account of his perceived religious position rather than his humanist scholarship. He also possessed a work by Josse Clichtove, a disciple of d'Étaples and French humanism (J. Durkan & A. Ross, Early Scottish Libraries (Glasgow, 1961) pp.30-31).

59 "Ordinance for the Keeping of James V". (In Dunbar's absence abroad, Erskine became James's temporary preceptor, Easson, Gavin Dunbar, p.7.)

in 1522 when this document was drawn up, Lindsay occupied the latter position.[60] It may also be significant that the entry in the Exchequer Rolls (1522) recording Lindsay's payment occurs immediately below one to the King's preceptor.

How effective James's education was is difficult to assess. While Dunbar and Lindsay offered a degree of continuity and stability, the troubled circumstances of the minority were educationally disruptive. This point is made by Lindsay himself in The Complaynt which incorporates a vigorous condemnation of those who, "Imprudentlie, lyk wytles fullis,/...tuke that young Prince from the sculis" (130-31). Lindsay was writing here of the events of 1524 and the beginning of the period of Margaret's political ascendancy, the period during which he lost his own position, and his acerbic commentary is underscored by personal disappointment. Dunbar, however, may have remained in service until Angus's assumption of power a couple of years later.[61]

According to the assessment of Magnus, the English ambassador, the thirteen year old James was ill-equipped to receive a diplomatic delegation:

> But as yet the said yong King canne not by hym selff rede an Einglisshe letter, but by the help of some oone of his Counsaill; naither canne devise, but as is assigned and instructe by the same Counseill:[62]

Although the report is probably a more accurate reflection of the Council's anxiety to supervise diplomatic relations rather than of James's intellectual capabilities, his education does seem to have

---

60 E.R., XIV, p.462.

61 Although in a letter of March 1525, Margaret referred to Dunbar as 'master to the Kyng' in the past tense, in January 1526 he was recorded by the English ambassador as being continually about the King (S.P. Henry VIII, IV, p.343 & 429). He probably lost his influence under Angus whose political opponent he was. (L.P. Henry VIII, IV, no.4728.)

62 S.P. Henry VIII, IV, p.368.

suffered and contemporaries would later suggest that both his Latin and French left something to be desired. In the same report, Magnus conveys to Henry VIII James's thanks for various hunting gifts and his eager request for an English buckler - a full-sized version and not one designed for a child. This personal glimpse of the young King suggests which aspects of his education most appealed to him. Certainly, alongside his tuition in philosophy and languages, James was fully trained in knightly accomplishments both martial and courtly. In highly flattering terms Magnus also offers a contrasting portrait of James which, although conventional and idealized, confirms his training in traditional aristocratic accomplishments:

> His said Grace stirre[d] his horses, and renne with a speare, amongges other his Lordes and servantes, at a gloove. And also...we have seen His saide Grace use hym selff otherwise pleasauntely, both in singging, and daunsing, and shewing familiaritye amonges his Lordes. All whiche his princely actes and doinges be soe excellent for his age, not yet of 13 yeres till Eister next, that in our oppynnyons it is not possible thay shulde be amended.[63]

Lindsay claimed to have entertained James (albeit at a slightly younger age) by singing, playing the lute and dancing (The Dreme, 11-12) and he may have played a part in this particular aspect of James's education. Nevertheless, with regard to the King's tuition, Lindsay placed the greatest emphasis upon the training of the mind, urging this upon monarchs, condemning its displacement by an exclusively martial training and lamenting the interruptions to James's own schooling. Lindsay's works portray a cherished ideal rather than the reality of royal education in early sixteenth century Scotland. But aspirations - even unrealized ones - represent an important clue to contemporary attitudes and it may well be that a programme for the royal education was devised although never successfully carried through.

---

63 Ibid., IV, p.243.

Another important figure in James's infancy was Marion Douglas, his nurse for the first twelve years of his life.[64] It may just be possible that Marion was related to Lindsay's future wife, Janet Douglas, and that this connection explains how the two first met. Janet's origins are obscure but the fact that Lindsay was able to quarter her arms does suggest she was reasonably well born.[65] The accounts covering the period immediately prior to Janet's first recorded appearance (when she is already described as Lindsay's wife) no longer survive but it seems probable that the pair were married sometime around the year 1522.[66] The implications of this marriage for relations between the Lindsays and Douglases are - given Janet's obscure origins - as little known as the details of the couple's personal relationship.[67] Connections with the Douglases may, however, have been maintained. In 1543, Lindsay appeared as witness to a proclamation in the company of his servant, one John Douglas,[68] a probable kinsman of his wife.

Tortuous is perhaps the only word to use in describing the political drama of James V's minority.[69] The heir presumptive to the Scottish throne was John, Duke of Albany, son of Alexander, the

---

64 E.R., XIV, p.350 (1518), p.459 (1522) & XV, p.89 (1524).

65 The heart which appears in Lindsay's arms is an allusion to the well known Douglas device (Hamer, Works, IV, p.xii).

66 T.A., V, p.196.

67 Chalmers noting the (highly traditional) satirical attacks on women in Lindsay's poetry and the fact that the marriage was childless has suggested that the union was not a happy one (Lyndsay, I, p.45). There is, however, no evidence with which to assess the relationship one way or the other.

68 A.P.S., II, p.438 & 441.

69 See: G. Donaldson, James V - James VII (Edinburgh, 1965) p.31ff. A much more detailed account, to which the following is highly indebted, is provided by W. K. Emond, "The Minority of King James V, 1513-28", Unpublished Ph.D. Thesis, St Andrews University, (1988).

forfeited and exiled brother of James III, and it was to Albany that the Scottish political community turned in September 1514. By inviting him to rule in Scotland, they were deliberately setting aside the Queen Mother, Margaret Tudor, who by the terms of her late husband's will was named *tutrix* to her son during her widowhood. Margaret's exclusion, partly arising from reluctance to entrust the government to Henry VIII's sister, was made possible by her marriage to Archibald Douglas, sixth Earl of Angus, in August 1514. This situation, concentrating power in the hands of one particular magnate family, was unacceptable, particularly to the Hamiltons whose head, the Earl of Arran, stood next to the throne after Albany. Consequently, Margaret's marriage provided the Council with the pretext they required to strip her of her authority and the assumption of effective power by the faction favourable to Albany paved the way for his arrival in Scotland in May 1515. Albany's first visit to Scotland (1515-17), although characterized by the firm action he took against opponents, also succeeded in initiating a period of strong, relatively stable government. Typically, Albany was able to effect this by acting as if he himself were King, a posture which was imperative if government were to be conducted along traditional lines.[70] Albany was aided by the fact of Queen Margaret's absence following her marriage to the Earl of Angus, but, ultimately, his government was dangerously dependent upon his own personality and presence. His departure and the subsequent murder of his lieutenant, De La Bastie, inaugurated a period of factional anarchy. With the Earls of Arran and Angus struggling for political control, the stalemate was broken only with Albany's return to Scotland in November 1521. Albany's second period of personal rule witnessed continued success in domestic policy although, with regard to

---

70 Emond, "The Minority of King James V", pp.143-44.

foreign affairs, his attempts to engage Scotland in war against England - perceived as being fought only in the interests of an ungenerous and ungrateful French King - were not so successful. Scottish reluctance to engage in further conflict was also a feature of Albany's third sojourn in Scotland (September 1523-May 1524). As we have seen, this attitude is reflected in Lindsay's poetry and possibly also the story of the Linlithgow ghost. His interpretation of the defeat of 1513 offered in The Testament of the Papyngo (1530) reinforced reluctance to take to the field by presenting Flodden as the direct consequence of James's failure to listen to good counsel. In Lindsay's opinion, James was undone:

> Nocht be the vertew of Inglis ordinance,
> Bot be his awin wylfull mysgouernance.
> (512-13)

He adds:

> Allace, that day had he bene counsalabyll,
> He had obtenit laude, glore and victorie.
> (514-15)

Whether this refers to James's action in the field or, more generally, to the campaign as a whole is not entirely clear. Nevertheless, to place such blame upon the shoulders of a man elsewhere so eulogized represents something of a contradiction. More obvious and more traditional scapegoats would have been either the perfidious English or the King's 'evil counsellors' (a device employed to avoid direct criticism of the monarch, it was not totally eschewed by Lindsay who uses it - in the same poem - in connection with James III). As discussed above, the campaign of 1513 was not unpopular at the time and James's actions were neither rash nor ill-considered.[71] Lindsay's 1530 interpretation owes more to feelings current after Flodden than any analysis of events prior to it, representing not a denunciation of

---

71 Macdougall, James IV, p.266. James's defeat was probably due to one fatal error, the deployment of phalanxes of pikes, a tactic unsuited to the terrain and conditions (ibid., p.274).

James's policies but a rejection of those ineffectively pursued by Albany's regency administration. In other respects, however, Lindsay appears to have approved of Albany's government, referring, for example, to "the prudent Duke of Albanie" and equating him with Scotland's prosperity (The Testament of the Papyngo, 534). In The Dreme, John the Commonweal laments his plight with the words:

> My tender friendis ar all put to the flycht
> For polecey [Albany] is fled agane in France.
> (946-47)

(Lindsay's endorsement of Albany's administration extended to his Lieutenant, the unfortunate De La Bastie.[72]) Lindsay's attitude towards Albany reflects his appreciation of the latter's ability to enforce order and to restore a degree of domestic stability. The political lesson afforded by Albany's government was one which Lindsay seems to have held close. Hereafter, his principal concerns would be for the maintenance of order, the welfare of the commonweal and the reinforcement of the type of strong monarchical authority able to ensure these goals.

Albany's final departure in May 1524 once again left a power vacuum within Scotland. It was in an attempt to fill this that Queen Margaret (seeking to build up her own faction) had Albany's authority overthrown by parliament and her son declared of age. Lindsay wrote of this period:

> The kyng was bot twelf yeiris of aige,
> Quhen new rewlaris come, in thare raige,
> For commoun weill makand no care
> Bot for thare proffeit singulair,
> Imprudentlie, lyk wytles fullis,
> Thay tuke that young Prince from the sculis,
> Quhare he, vnder obedience
> Was lernand vertew and science,
> And haistelie plat in his hand
> The gouernance of all Scotland.
> (The Complaynt, 126-36)

---

72 The Historie of Squyer Meldrum, 1383-84 & 1486-87.

Lindsay's forceful condemnation of this course of action illustrates the importance he placed upon the education of the Prince, a theme developed in later works. This passage also highlights the distinction drawn between "commoun weill" and "singulaire proffeit" and the way in which these concepts were used to articulate the criteria of good government. Again, this is a theme to which Lindsay returned.

Lindsay's embittered curses probably also derived in part from personal disappointment. One of the traditional methods of demonstrating that the King was of age was the revocation of the principal offices of state, a move symbolizing that the authority of the original granter was no longer recognised. This device was employed by Margaret shortly after she assumed control of the government and the autumn of 1524 saw the enthusiastic distribution of grants, particularly of household offices, amongst her supporters.[73] Undoubtedly, Lindsay was a casualty of this process. In August 1524, the position of Master Usher - previously held by Lindsay - with all its attendant "feis, privilegis, fredomes and dewties aucht and wount thairfor" was granted to Andrew, Lord Avondale, the brother of Margaret's third husband, Henry Stewart.[74] Lindsay's loss of the position probably reflects Margaret's desire to build up support for herself rather than any personal animosity, but it is possible that she considered him too close to the King or else out of sympathy with the new regime. However, Margaret's overdependence upon her inner group of supporters combined with her administration's failure to effect a restitution of good government, resulted in the political initiative passing to the Earl of Angus. Various attempts to resolve the political stalemate and find a compromise solution culminated in the

---

73 Emond, "The Minority of King James V", p.423.

74 R.S.S., I, ii, no.3267.

decision to commit power into the hands of a Council of rotating membership which would have control of the King. However, when in October 1525 the time came for Angus to hand over power, belief in impending annihilation at the hands of his enemies prompted him to chance what was, in effect, a *coup d'état.*[75] He refused to relinquish control of the King, a situation which was ultimately accepted and finally legitimated by Parliament in June 1526.[76] Exactly what happened to Lindsay during this period is difficult to ascertain, the task being complicated by the fact that the accounts for the crucial period April 1524-August 1525 are not available. We know that Lindsay fell victim to Margaret's revocation in 1524. Thereafter (in 1525 and 1526) he is referred to as "*quondam hostario domini regis*".[77] At Christmas 1526, however, he received a gown and velvet for a doublet.[78] The accounts are then missing again for a period and, on their resumption, Lindsay is reinstated as "*familiari domini regis*".[79] He was never again described as Master Usher. Lindsay's own account of this period vividly illustrates the personal disappointment felt as he "Was trampit doun in to the douste" (The Complaynt, 255). He describes how at that time, he "durst nocht be sene/ In oppin court," but whether this means, as some commentators have claimed, that he was obliged to flee the Court altogether is not clear (289-90).[80] He may simply have felt himself pushed to the periphery of affairs whereas previously he had enjoyed a much more central role. Indeed, the receipt of his

75 Emond, "The Minority of King James V", p.454.

76 A.P.S., II, p.300.

77 E.R., XV, p.116 & 229.

78 T.A., V, p.310.

79 E.R., XV, p.395 & 473.

80 E.g. W. Murison, Sir David Lyndsay, Poet and Satirist of the Old Church in Scotland (Cambridge, 1938) p.8.

yuletime livery and pension (albeit paid to a former servant of the King) suggests the over-dramatization of a fall from grace which was, in reality, little more than a slight tumble.[81] Nevertheless, the experience certainly marked Lindsay's thinking, intensifying his awareness of the precarious nature of service at Court and prompting thoughts as to how that service might best be rewarded.

Lindsay's earliest extant works reveal him to be a relatively astute political commentator, ably charting the various changes in government during James V's minority:

> Into that court thare rang sic variance,
> Diuers rewlaris maid diuers ordinance:
> Sum tyme out Quene rang in auctoritie,
> Sum tyme, the prudent Duke of Albanie.
>
> Sum tyme the realme was reulit be regentis,
> Sum tyme, Lufetenentis, ledaris of the law.
> (The Testament of the Papyngo, 531-36)

In general, Lindsay viewed the period as one of anarchic violence and disorder. His lurid descriptions of the stupidity, lust and avarice of those who dominated the young King foreshadow future preoccupations with the virtue appropriate to servants of the sovereign. While Lindsay was brutal in his castigation of Margaret's administration, his most bitter criticisms were reserved for Angus's usurpation of authority in 1525-26. "And vtheris tuke the gouernyng," he wrote, "Weill wors than thay in alkin thyng" (The Complaynt, 299-300). In this connection, Lindsay mentions the armed clashes at Linlithgow (September 1526), Melrose (July 1526) and Edinburgh (probably a reference to Margaret's expulsion from the Castle in 1528). The prime mover in the opposition to Angus's rule in the summer of 1526 was the Earl of Lennox (who stood next in line to the throne after Albany and

---

81 Lindsay maintains that it was James's generosity and personal intervention which ensured the continued payment of his pension (The Complaynt, 266-67) but this is probably best read as flattery of the King's munificence.

Arran). It seems too that James V was himself in some way associated with Lennox's conspiracies, a fact illustrative of the young King's growing desire to be free of political and personal tutelage.[82] James's association with Lennox may help to explain Lindsay's line deploring the deaths "Off nobyll men" amongst whom was the Earl himself (358). This apparent sympathy with Lennox's cause may also be explained by the participation of a large number of Fife lords and lairds (including Lord Lindsay) in the 1526 rebellion.[83] Lennox's death effectively removed the focal point for political discontent and there was no further opposition to Angus's rule. However, Angus's failure to distribute patronage on a suitably wide scale weakened any general willingness to prop up his unstable regime and his position was seriously undermined when he lost control of the person of the King. Lindsay appears to have known little of James's escape from Douglas control. He offers no account of the episode and is content simply to banish the Douglases unceremoniously over the Tweed (The Complaynt, 372). Possibly, Lindsay's detachment accounts for the fact that he was not amongst those whom James immediately favoured on his assumption of personal power in 1528; "the people who benefited from Angus's forfeiture were people who had rallied to the King's standard in the immediate period of danger in the summer of 1528".[84]

Lindsay's earliest extant compositions, The Dreme, The Complaynt and The Testament of the Papyngo reflect his experiences during this period. They are very much concerned with breakdowns in the established order, the relationship between ruler and commonweal, the nature of good government and of service. It is perhaps surprising

---

82 Emond, "The Minority of King James V", p.503.

83 Ibid., p.510.

84 Ibid., p.558.

that Lindsay's first known poem was written some twenty years after his arrival at Court when he was around forty years of age. That he was certainly involved in court entertainment before this date is illustrated by the cloth he received for play costumes in 1511 and his acquaintance with Inglis. It seems, therefore, that he favoured pageantry and play-making over poetical composition - at least until the late 1520s. Challenging this, Hamer argues that the tales with which Lindsay entertained the young James V were, in fact, actual poems now lost.[85] However, it is unlikely that Lindsay was doing anything more than reciting well worn tales from memory. Certainly, the subject matter - stories of classical and chivalric heroes, prophecies and folk tales - is very different to that of Lindsay's later works.[86] Indeed, after cataloguing these more traditional tales, Lindsay introduces his own poem as "ane storye of the new", a succinct declaration of at least a major change in thematic direction if not a first attempt at this type of work (The Dreme, 48). For a first attempt, The Dreme is a highly accomplished composition. It is also extremely traditional, relying heavily upon such well established genres and motifs as the dream vision, the cosmological journey, poetic complaint and mirror-for-princes type exhortation. Additionally, Lindsay clearly drew on several well known authorities.[87] This too is a highly conventional

---

85 Hamer, Works, III, p.12.

86 Janet Williams has argued that each of these nursery stories 'has been chosen to make its own contribution to a well-devised educational scheme, which offered James exemplary counsel, inspiring forecasts of his future role, and jocular portraits of his kingdom in ancient times'. This interpretation usefully brings out the important didactic function of these tales and of The Dreme itself but it does not necessarily follow that they were original compositions. (Lindsay's 'Antique' and 'Plesand' Stories", in A. Gardner-Medwin, & J. H. Williams, ed., A Day Estivall; Essays on the Music, Poetry and History of Scotland and England and Poems Previously Unpublished in Honour of Helena Mennie Shire (Aberdeen, 1990) pp.155-166, p.163.

87 He cites as an authority, 'The Auctour of the Speir' (639), almost certainly a reference to Sacro Bosco's *Sphaera Mundi* In addition,

poetic device but, significantly, it is one which Lindsay makes little use of in his other works (The Monarche excepted). The Dreme also resonates with the work of earlier Scottish poets, notably Robert Henryson. There are several striking similarities between Lindsay's poem and Henryson's Orpheus and Eurydice particularly with regard to the depiction of Hell. Thus the line, "In haly kirk quhilk dois abusion" appears unaltered in both poems, while Lindsay's phrases, "mony cairful kingis", "in flame of fyre", "And Archebischopis in thare pontificall" compare remarkably closely with Henryson's "mony carefull king & quene", "In flambe of fyre" "and bischopis in thair pontificall".[88] Parallels can also be found between The Dreme and The Testament of Cresseid. Both include a description of a barren winter environment and there are similarities also in the description of the planets.[89] The publication of Henryson's Orpheus and Eurydice by Chepman and Millar in 1508 suggests the poet's popularity and it may be that Lindsay, somewhat unconfident about his first serious composition, chose to echo Henryson in this way.[90] Similarly, the description of how the narrator was awakened from his reverie by the sound of cannons firing from a passing ship strongly recalls an identical incident in Dunbar's The Golden Targe, also an early Chepman and Millar

---

he probably also drew upon the *Chronica Chronicarum Abbrege* (Hamer, Works, III, p.2.)

88 The Dreme, 182, 170, 166, 175; Orpheus and Eurydice, 222, 200, 226, 223.) (A. Gregory Smith, ed., The Poems of Robert Henryson, 3 vols, (S.T.S., 1906-14) III, pp.28-65.) These similarities have been noted by Hamer, Works, III, p.16.

89 The Dreme: '...Phebus brycht,/That lustie lampe and lanterne of the heuin' (421-22), 'As Roye royall,.../...into his golden chair,' (426-27), Venus, 'sumtyme constant and sumtyme variabyll,' with 'hir blenkis amorous' (411 & 407). The Testament of Cresseid: 'fair Phebus lanterne of light' (197), 'As king Royall he raid vpon his Chair,' (204), Venus, '...in hir face seemit gret variance,/ Quhyles perfyte truth and quhyles Inconstance' (223-34), 'with blenkis amorous' (226), (The Poems of Robert Henryson, III, pp.3-24).

90 Aldis, A List of Books Printed in Scotland, n.p.

publication.[91] The unusual citation of authorities, the heavy use of traditional topi and the reliance upon the language of respected and popular predecessors support the argument that The Dreme was in fact Lindsay's first major composition.

George Chalmers was the first to date The Dreme to 1528, a judgment endorsed by Douglas Hamer.[92] In order to support his case, the former cites Lindsay's descriptions of minority misrule and of lawlessness on the Borders (before James V's attempts to restore royal authority there in 1529). Hamer uses the same argument with relation to the Islands, also noting that the King is, as yet, unmarried. None of these points, however, provide sufficient reason to date the poem decisively to 1528. Of more significance is the final exhortation to the King urging upon him the precepts of good government. And yet, this passage stands independent of the main body of the poem which could just as easily have been written some time before that date. Indeed, Lindsay pointedly refers to "The Cieule weir [which] misgydis euerilk oist" (992). Hamer, straining to maintain his position, comments, "although this is spoken of as in the present, Lindsay must be referring not to the fighting of 1526 but to the cleaning up of the country in 1528 after the flight of the Douglases".[93] There is, however, no real reason to suggest that Lindsay was not writing in the latter days of the minority. In support of this, we should also note the use of the present tense ascribing the plight of the realm to "our infatuate heidis Insolent", a description which in employing the plural is surely meant to apply to the various regency administrations or, collectively, to the Douglases (905). It is surely significant too

---

91 John Small, ed., The Poems of William Dunbar, 3 vols, (S.T.S., 1893) II, p.9, (235-43).

92 Chalmers, Lyndsay, I, p.54; Hamer, Works, III, pp.1-2.

93 Hamer, Works, III, pp.1-2.

that John the Commonweal, after bemoaning his plight, flees Scotland pledging not to return "...tyll that I see the cuntre gudit/ Be wysedome of ane gude auld prudent king" - hardly appropriate if James had already embarked upon independent, adult rule (1004-05). John goes on to say that the question of whether he will return or not "sall be sone desydit" which again suggests that Lindsay was looking forward to James's assumption of personal control and indeed to an improvement in his own fortunes (1002). Although the exhortation to James could have been added to the earlier composition at a later date, it seems more likely that it represents Lindsay's attempt to conform to the fiction that the King was of age while simultaneously and adroitly exposing the fact that in reality his education in the business of kingship was not yet complete.[94] Such an interpretation is strengthened when we consider the closely related composition, The Complaynt. Clearly exercising his own authority, James is depicted ruling with the Cardinal virtues having already begun to restore order to the kingdom. Now he is offered specific advice (on patronage and Church reform) more suited to the altered political circumstances. The dating of many of Lindsay's poems is very speculative but it seems clear that the hitherto accepted date of 1528 for The Dreme requires qualification if not revision.

There is less room for debate concerning the dating of The Complaynt. Lindsay here is much more specific concerning the fact of James V's personal rule, thanking God that the king is "...to no man...subiectit/ Nor to sic counsalouris coactit" (377-78). He is also

---

94 Cf. the argument that The Dreme represents a subtle piece of court propaganda praising the policies of the new administration (Sandra Cairns, "Sir David Lindsay's *Dreme*: Poetry, Propaganda and Encomium in the Scottish Court" in Glyn S. Burgess & Robert A. Taylor, ed., The Spirit of the Court: Selected Proceedings of the Fourth Congress of the International Courtly Literature Society (Woodbridge & Dover, New Hampshire, 1985) pp.110-19.

much more vitriolic in his description and condemnation of those who kept James in their control, his increased venom probably the product of a correspondingly greater sense of personal security. Finally, Lindsay also refers to an old servant, Willie Dye, as being no longer alive. In 1529, Dye is recorded as receiving Christmas livery; the poem must therefore have been written sometime after this date, yet surely not too long after James's assumption of personal power.[95] By the date of its composition, Lindsay was again at Court and the poem is, therefore, not a plea for reinstatement but rather, *inter alia*, a request for further reward and recognition. It is an important (if humorous) look at service at Court, a poem in the tradition of Dunbar, which develops the themes of the precarious - often dangerous - nature of royal service, of patronage, advancement and the value placed upon differing aspects of these.

The Testament of the Papyngo, which deals with themes similar to those discussed above, was also written during the early part of Lindsay's career (sometime before December 1530).[96] In this poem, Lindsay uses a Papyngo or parrot within the 'fall-of-princes' genre to offer an examination of ambition and fortune which is simultaneously humorous and serious in intent. Through the mouth piece of the dying bird, he offers both James V and his Court a powerful moral exhortation, strongly humanist in tone. The second part of the poem deals with the parrot's experiences at the hands of three rapacious bird-clerics, the traditional beast fable being adapted to launch a mordant attack upon clerical abuses. Taken together, these three poems represent a succinct declaration of Lindsay's intent regarding both style and subject matter; exploring in a powerful, yet often humorous,

---

95 Hamer, Works, III, pp.47-49.

96 Ibid., III, pp.64-67.

manner the issues of kingship, government and the Church. As we shall see, these were themes to which Lindsay would return many times as he sought to educate and to entertain his audience.

Chapter Two

A Heraldic Career: 1530-1555

In his poem, The Complaynt, Lindsay recalls his early service at Court, requesting James V to "...mak me recompense" (502). If this traditional enough petition provoked any response other than a wry smile then it probably came in the form of elevation to the office of Snowdon Herald. By this date, Lindsay was already back in favour (described in the records as "*Familiare domine regis*"), but it was only after this that he appears to have begun his heraldic career. If Lindsay's appointment was the direct result of his petition for royal favour, it was not simply a question of placating an old retainer, "Quhilk hes so lang in seruyce bene" (The Complaynt, 13). Certain aspects of his career up to this point meant that the move was entirely suitable. His early employment in the Stable would undoubtedly have involved participating in jousts and tournaments providing him with a thorough grounding in the associated ideology and technical details necessary for their execution. He had also been associated with at least one court entertainment, thereby obtaining valuable experience for a position which involved the supervision of public and royal spectacle beyond the confines of the tournament arena. Furthermore, Lindsay's early poetry suggests a well developed acquaintance with the important chivalric histories and mythologies, the "antique stories and dedis marciall", knowledge of which was central to the discharge of heraldic duties (The Dreme, 31).[1]

It has been argued that Lindsay began his heraldic career as a pursuivant, for it was common - although apparently not mandatory - to perform the one office before the other. The suggestion is, therefore, that he occupied this position in the 1520s during the period when he

1 Further details of these stories can be found in the same poem, 32-46.

apparently lost office yet remained in receipt of his pension.[2] However, considering the evidence of The Complaynt and of the Exchequer Rolls (which explicitly refer to him as a former household servant) this argument appears very leaky.[3] Rather it seems that Lindsay's new career was underway swiftly after, but only after, his return to favour. At the beginning of 1530, he is mentioned in the Protocol Books of Haddington as acting with the Marchmont, Ross and Islay heralds; while three months later, the Treasurer's Accounts note the payment of £15 to a "David Lindesay" who "passed with" a servant of the Earl of Northumberland.[4] Whether Lindsay was actually a herald at this stage is not clear, although he certainly was by the end of the year when he is described as such for the first time and in this capacity received livery and an annual fee of £40.[5] It has often been claimed that it was at this point in his career that Lindsay was created Lyon King of Arms (Scotland's chief heraldic officer), a contention vigorously and convincingly refuted by Douglas Hamer.[6] He points out that during the period 1529-42, there already existed a Lyon King, one Thomas Pettigrew, named as such in 1529 and again in 1542. Lindsay was most often described simply as herald (sometimes as Snowdon Herald). However, the dearth of recorded appearances of Thomas Pettigrew suggests an incapacity which renders it quite likely that, during the 1530s, Lindsay acted as a form of Lyon Deputy.[7] It is significant that

2 Innes of Learney, "Sir David Lindsay of the Mount", p.171 and Hamer, Works, IV, pp.288-89.

3 E.R., XV, p.116 & 229.

4 George Seaton, The Law and Practice of Heraldry in Scotland (Edinburgh, 1863) p.480: T.A., V, p.377.

5 T.A., V, p.431 & E.R., XVI, p.12.

6 E.g. Chalmers, Lyndsay, I, pp.11-12, Laing, Lyndsay, I, p.xxii & D.N.B., XXXIII, p.291. For Hamer's argument, see: Works, IV, pp.288-90.

7 Hamer suggests that Pettigrew may have been a Douglas appointee who

the two occasions before 1542 when Lindsay was entitled Lyon Herald were during an embassy to England and at the funeral of Queen Madelaine, important occasions which demanded the dignified presence of Scotland's chief officer of arms.[8] Clearly, Lindsay could - and did - act as Lyon King when the situation demanded.

Lindsay's duties can be more fully understood if we look first at the background to his position. It was around the end of the thirteenth century that the office of herald emerged in Europe.[9] Although their early history remains obscure, heralds were probably employed in a lowly capacity in warfare, charged with the tasks of recording ennoblements and the deaths of knights and also acting as messengers between opposing camps. However, the key to the emergence of the office probably lies with the heralds' participation in tournaments. Again, their early attendance was in a lowly capacity, very often in association with wandering minstrels, but their growing expertise in recording the chivalric prowess of those participating in the tournament gradually rendered the heralds' position more secure and, increasingly, they came to be identified as chivalry's technical experts, learned in its history, its ideology and the conventions according to which it operated. Additionally, as the literary tastes of the Court grew more sophisticated, heralds were expected to produce elaborate, highly polished accounts of their business - be it records of valour in the lists or their visits to foreign courts - which spread their own master's fame abroad and fostered his majesty at home.[10]

---

fled with his patrons to England and was out of the country for most of the period in question (Works, IV, p.289). However, given the participation of the Lyon King in the parliament of 1528 which passed sentence of forfeiture on the Douglases this seems unlikely (A.P.S., II, pp.324-27).

8 L.&.P. Henry VIII, IX, p.151 & 165; T.A., VI, p.423.

9 Maurice Keen, Chivalry (New Haven & London, 1984) p.125.

10 Richard Firth Green, Poets and Princepleasers: Literature and the

Clearly, heralds were far from ignorant men. Their position required a knowledge of genealogy and blazon, of the laws of nobility and inheritance, a command of the literature and historic culture of chivalry and its associated symbolism. The range of a herald's erudition is conveyed by the texts they possessed and the manuscripts they compiled. The type of 'library' a herald might enjoy is suggested by the inventory of an English herald contemporary with Lindsay, one Thomas Benolt, Clarenceaux King of Arms, 1534. This includes rolls recording pedigrees, accounts of ceremonies such as coronations and funerals, several bestiaries, Froissart's *Chroniques*, the *Livre de Tresor* of Brunetto Latini, a translation of Giles of Rome's *De Regimine Principum*, a book of the Nine Worthies, a history of Troy, a book of Galahad, Geoffrey de Charnay's *Livre de Chevalrie*, Vegetius and Honore Bonet's Tree of Honour.[11] Of course, it is by no means certain that Lindsay enjoyed access to anything like such a collection, but such evidence as we have suggests his familiarity with a similar range of sources. The Tree of Honour, for example, had been translated into Scots in the fifteenth century by Sir Gilbert Hay, one of the authors mentioned by Lindsay in The Testament of the Papyngo whose "libells bene leuand" (20).[12] In addition, there exist several heraldic manuscripts consisting of such items as a treatise on tournaments, a description of the office of Marshall and Constable, an account of the

---

English Court in the Late Middle Ages (Toronto, Buffalo, London, 1980) pp.168-72. A well-known example of this is the account penned by Somerset Herald recording the marriage of Margaret Tudor to James IV, "Account of the Marriage between James IV and Margaret Tudor", in *Johannis Lelandi Antiquarii de Rebus Britannicis Collectanea*, 6 vols, (London, 1774) IV, pp.265-300.

11 A. R. Wagner, Heralds and Heraldry in the Middle Ages (Oxford, 1956) Appendix F, p.150ff.

12 J. H. Stevenson, ed., Gilbert of the Hayes Prose Manuscript, 2 vols, (S.T.S., 1901-14) I, "The Buke of the Lawe of Armys" or "The Buke of Bataillis".

art of blazon, a history of arms, a treatise entitled "How Gentilmen salbe Knawin Frome Churles", military material drawn from Vegetius, accounts of coronations and a copy of the classic text, The Buke of the Ordre of Chevalrie.[13] Finally, that Lindsay was fully versed in the lore of chivalry is apparent from a reading of his poetry. A good example of this is his treatment of the parrot in The Testament of the Papyngo. The parrot, along with other birds, was a creature borne in arms from the fourteenth century onwards and clearly was chosen here by Lindsay on account of the properties traditionally ascribed to it. The heraldic manuscript compiled by Lindsay's youngest brother during the latter's term as Lyon King (1568-1591) lists the parrot amongst the heraldic creatures, describing the bird's nobility, articulate voice and ability to elude falls, qualities which render Lindsay's choice of a parrot particularly apt.[14]

Before examining the precise nature of heraldic office, we should first consider the officers of arms themselves. By the mid-sixteenth century, there were six royal heralds - Islay, Snowdon, Marchmont, Albany, Ross and Rothesay - and the same number of pursuivants - Carrick, Dingwall, Bute, Unicorn, Kintyre and Ormond.[15] At the apex of the heraldic hierarchy stood the Lyon King of Arms, first found in the records in 1377 but generally believed to have much older antecedents.[16] Theoretically, final authority over the officers of

13 Two surviving Scottish examples of sixteenth century heraldic manuscripts are "John Scrymgeour's Heraldic Collection" dating from the first half of the century (N.L.S. ADV. MS 31.5.2) and "The Heraldic Collection of Sir David Lindsay of Rathillet, Lyon King of Arms 1569-91 etc" (N.L.S. ADV. MS 31.5.2.). Both of these are derived from the late fifteenth century Loutfut MS, prepared by the Scottish pursuivant, Adam Loutfut (B.M. Harleian MS 6419).

14 ADV. MS 31.3.20. (Noted by Williams, "The Poetry of Sir David Lyndsay", p.141).

15 R.P.C., I, p.568 (April 1569).

16 J. H. Stevenson, Heraldry in Scotland, 2 vols, (Glasgow, 1914) I, p.38.

arms rested in the Constable, although the orders of the Lords of Council reveal at least a degree of conciliar control.[17] In practice, the Lyon King seems to have been the key figure. It was he who took "gude ordour and maid reformatione" of the officers in 1569, and he was often found disciplining them - as when in 1555, Lindsay together with the Constable and Earl of Angus convened a chapter of heralds to consider the case against one William Crawford, a messenger accused of various acts of extortion and oppression.[18] Finding him guilty, the chapter stripped him of his office and delivered him to the Constable for punishment. This represents the forerunner of a procedure regularized by parliament in 1587 whereby the Lyon King was vested with the authority to appoint and remove all officers of arms, to convene a biannual court in Edinburgh to hear complaints against them and to fine and dismiss the guilty.[19] Minor officers, messengers and macers (of which there were eighty odd), were recruited from the localities - the act of 1587 laments the prevalence of unaccredited officers and calls for the burghs to submit the names of suitable candidates to the Lords of Session.[20] Pursuivants and heralds, however, appear to have remained permanently at Court, the King's "familiar daylie servitors".[21] The Scottish officers of arms were never 'incorporated',

17 W. C. Dickinson, "Courts of Special Jurisdiction", Introduction to Scottish Legal History, 20, (Stair Society, 1958) pp.396-407, p.397. See: R.P.C., I, pp.658-60 where the Council praises the appointment of officers made by Lindsay of Rathillet and orders no further changes to be made.

18 R.P.C., I, p.660 (The Lyon King in 1569 was Lindsay's brother, David Lindsay of Rathillet). For the case against Crawford, see: Chalmers, Lyndsay, I, p.39.

19 A.P.S., III, p.449.

20 In 1569, there were 83 minor officers (R.P.C., I, pp.658-60).

21 Sir Thomas Innes of Learney, "The Style and Title of the Lord Lyon King of Arms", Juridical Review, 44, (1932) pp.197-220, p.198. The quotation is credited to *Liber Curiarum Dni. Roberti Forman de Luthrie*, fol.1 (Lindsay's successor in the office of Lyon King).

as happened, for example, in fifteenth century England, a process which would have led (as it did south of the border) to their virtual separation from the royal household. The importance of Lindsay's continued association with the Court can not be over-emphasized. Not only did his observation of kingship sustain his interest in this and related issues but he was able to view at first hand, and from a unique vantage point, how the chivalrous ideology so intimately linked to his own office actually related to courtly activities and attitudes and to the practical business of government.

The exercise of their own jurisdiction by the officers of arms had significant implications for the attempted definition of privilege and, more nebulously, for perceptions of status and self-importance. In November 1541, for example, John Meldrum, Marchmont Herald, contended that "be privilege of his office na schereffis nor officiaris hes jurisdictioun of him in his actionis bot alanerlie Lyon King of armes [who was at this time David Lindsay] and the lordes of counsale".[22] This claim was, in fact, rejected by the Council. Nevertheless, it represents an important illustration of the way in which the officers of arms perceived themselves as standing apart from other officers of the Crown.

Heraldic duties in Renaissance Scotland, as elsewhere in Europe, represent the logical extension of the office's original functions. Duties included, firstly, the delivery of royal messages both within Scotland and abroad; secondly, participation in royal and public ceremonies, not only tournaments but such occasions as funerals and coronations; thirdly, the supervision of matters genealogical and the regulation of grants of arms (hence the heralds' role at coronations where legitimacy was so important); and fourthly, as mentioned above,

---

22 A.D.C.P., p.509.

heralds were increasingly expected to produce literature aimed at the glorification of the chivalrous court. What one commentator has called "the journalists of the middle ages" graduated as eloquent mouthpieces for an ever more elaborate court literature.[23] Although it would be wrong to view Lindsay simply as a glorified heraldic commentator, it is important that we view his poetic development within this context. While Lindsay's attitude to the cult of chivalry was far from straightforward, his heraldic position renders his exploration of the issue extremely pertinent and highly intriguing. It also informs his work in somewhat more obvious fashion and his poems contain various references to heraldic duties which further illuminate the nature of the office. In The Historie of Squyer Meldrum, for example, heralds figure in the joust between the Squire and Sir Talbart ordering the crowd and giving the signal for the fight to begin (437-40 & 446-48), while in The Deploratioun for the Deith of Quene Magdalene, macers and heralds, "with thare awfull Vestimentis", organize the crowd during the Entry celebrations (137).[24] Heraldic duties also supply Lindsay with a metaphor for clerical responsibility when, in The Tragedie of the Late Cardinal Beaton, he demands of the prelates:

> Quhow dar ye be so bauld tyll tak on hand
> For to be Herraldis to so gret one kyng,
> To beir his Message boith to burgh and land,
> (288-90)

The delivery of royal communications was, as this implies, an important aspect of a herald's duties. Officers of arms were charged with proclaiming forthcoming parliaments at mercat crosses throughout the land and heralds bearing the King's letters were used to summon

---

23 Green, Poets and Princepleasers, p.170.

24 See Figure Two, "Illustration of a Herald". This is taken from the late sixteenth century Seton Armorial (N.L.S. ACC. 9309, fol after 23). The Deploratioun refers to the 'burneist siluer wandis' born by the heralds which, as shown here, recalled the staff of Mercury, messenger of the Gods.

Figure Two

Illustration of a Herald
(Seton Armorial, N.L.S. ACC.9309)
Courtesy of the National Library of Scotland

individuals to appear before Parliament.[25] In Ane Satyre of the Thrie Estatis, it is the herald, Diligence, who performs these offices and who also, as a herald should, proclaims the legislative action of the play. It is tempting to think that when Ane Satyre was first staged in Cupar in 1552, Lindsay himself played this role. It would certainly make sense given that Diligence, adopting an almost authorial stance, both introduces and wraps up the action. He it is who delivers the bulk of the play's specific political message while at the same time claiming - somewhat disingenuously - that it is only a play and not to be taken too seriously. Nevertheless, not only would the audience have understood the very real points made by the author, but Diligence's pecuniary grumbles - echoing those made by Lindsay in The Complaynt - may have raised a wry smile from those who knew that the 1540s had seen the virtual cessation of Lindsay's official pension (1799-1814).

One of the purposes for which heralds were frequently employed was to summon individuals to answer charges of treason before parliament.[26] The testimony given by the Lyon King in the parliament of 1528 illustrates this particular aspect of the heralds' duties. He declared how he had - as instructed - charged the Earl of Angus to compeir in the next parliament and, being unable to apprehend either George Douglas or Archibald Douglas of Kilspindy, he had summoned them by open proclamation at the mercat cross at Haddington and at Edinburgh. He reported the charges laid and the witnesses to his actions. Finally, he falsed the doom against the Douglases in parliament. Although the

---

25 E.g. A.P.S., III, p.193. The records note the names of twenty-seven burghs visited by messengers for this purpose prior to the parliament of October 1581.

26 E.g. A.P.S., II, pp.324-27, for the actions of Lyon King summoning the Douglases to appear before Parliament in 1528. See also the report of Bute Pursuivant in 1543 when he relates how he had summoned all those with an interest in the Douglas case to appear before the Parliament in which the attainder was reversed (ibid., II, p.418.)

Lyon King was not always involved in forfeiture proceedings himself (for example, Carrick Pursuivant issued the summons against Robert Colville in 1540), it seems to have been accepted that such summonses ought properly to be issued by an accredited officer of arms.[27] Noting that "charges of treason hes not bene execute and used, with sik solemnity and Officiares of Armes, as the weichtiness thereof requires", Parliament ordained that only heralds, pursuivants or macers were to be used for this purpose.[28]

The heralds' concern with prosecutions for treason extended beyond the summoning of the accused as those convicted were stripped of their "life, lands, heritage and goods", being held "for ever incapable of office, honour and dignity".[29] As the task of regulating grants of arms was another important aspect of heraldic activity, such individuals continued to attract attention. The heralds' role in the administration of the law of arms received formal expression in 1592 with the passing of the first legislative act to deal with armorial bearings.[30] This act is a major source for heraldic activity in Scotland and, although not passed until the end of the sixteenth century, it probably represents the attempted regularization of the *status quo* rather than the introduction of innovations - an argument supported by the fact that Lindsay, when Lyon King, himself performed many of the duties it describes.

Lindsay's office not only involved him in the legal enforcement of the law of arms, it also brought him up against the whole question of

---

27 Ibid., II, p.369.

28 Ibid., III, p.554, (1592).

29 Peter G. B. McNeill, ed., "*Discour Particulier D'Escosse, 1559/60*", Miscellany II, (Stair Society, 1984) pp.86-131, p.119. (This is a document on the government of Scotland prepared at the command of Mary of Guise for the French administration.)

30 A.P.S., III, p.554.

the nature of nobility and virtue. This issue, a favourite topic of Renaissance literature, had a practical application in the administration of the law of arms. Here we should look further at the 1592 Act of Parliament which granted the Lyon King and his brother heralds "full power and comissioun" to inspect the arms of all "noblemen, baronis and gentlemen", to distinguish them with proper differences and to matriculate them in their books and registers, to prohibit "the common sort of people" from bearing arms and to impose harsh penalties on any who attempted to bear arms inappropriate to their status. Such legislation reflects the fact that heraldry, based as it was largely upon Bartolus's *De Insignia et Armis*, developed almost as a branch of civil law.[31] In addition, many heralds had a degree of legal training; for example, William Cumming of Inverallochy, Lyon King 1512-19, was a frequent procurator before the Lords of Council.[32] In 1592, this link was recognized when civil magistrates were enjoined to work with the Lyon King in enforcing armorial law. The 1592 act claimed the abuse of arms was such that "it can nocht be distinguischit be thair armes quha ar gentlemen of blude be thair antecessors".[33] From this piece of legislation alone it is not clear whether such attitudes were longstanding or whether they expressed the reactions of a newly sensitive armigerous class.[34] Lindsay's work

---

31 John Meldrum, Marchmont Herald in the first half of the sixteenth century, possessed an MS copy of this work (ADV. MS 31.6.5) and, according to Sir Thomas Innes of Learney, Cumming of Inverallochy based his judicial proceedings upon Bartolus, a special transcript of *De Insignia et Armis* being prepared for his use (Scots Heraldry (Edinburgh & London, 2nd edn., 1956) p.234.

32 Innes of Learney, Scots Heraldry, p.13

33 A.P.S., III, p.554.

34 In connection with this, see: J. Wormald, "Lords and Lairds in Fifteenth Century Scotland", in M. Jones, ed., Gentry and Nobility in Late Medieval Europe (Gloucester & New York, 1986) pp.181-200. Wormald argues that there was no real gulf between the two classes and that social status did not become an issue until the first half of the seventeenth century (p.196).

makes clear, however, that status was a pertinent issue at least by the mid-sixteenth century. In Ane Satyre of the Thrie Estatis, he attacks those members of the nobility who marry their children to the illegitimate offspring of churchmen - Temporalitie bitterly complains that he can not match the dowries offered by clerics and, since others are only too eager to marry into wealth, his daughters remain unmarried (3180-96).[35] Lindsay's solution to the problem expressed in the legislative action of the play, what has been described as a "startling form of marital apartheid...the most remarkable of all the acts", is the prohibition of intermarriage between the first and second estates.[36] Arguably, however, the most interesting aspect of this is Lindsay's contention that those contravening the act should be stripped of their noble status, a reference to the type of action taken against convicted traitors, enforced by the Lyon King and, after 1592, the civil magistrates. Lindsay commended a process - possibly suggested by one already in place and certainly foreshadowing the 1592 legislation - whereby nobility was subject to consideration and confirmation by the civil authorities:

> Gif Nobils marie with the Spiritualitie,
> From thyre subject thay salbe, and all
> Sall be degraithit of thair Nobilitie,
> And from the Nobils cancellit.
> Vnto the tyme that by thair libertie,
> Rehabilit be the ciuill magistrate.
> (3933-38)

The employment of officers of arms to communicate royal messages often took them outside Scotland. This meant that in the course of his career, Lindsay undertook a series of missions to foreign courts. His diplomatic activities are significant for a number of reasons.

---

35 The same grievance is found in the 1540 Epiphany drama (see Chapter Three).

36 Lyall, Ane Satyre, p.200 & 205.

Firstly, they shed more light on heraldic office during this period, especially in relation to that of ambassador; secondly, they ensured that Lindsay remained very much involved with the major political issues of day; and thirdly, they provided him with an insight into the court cultures and political and religious affairs of a number of countries not his own.

Lindsay's first known experience of travel outwith Scotland was his visit to Flanders in the summer of 1531.[37] Earlier that year, Sir John Campbell of Lundy had renewed a long standing agreement concerning the rights and privileges of Scottish merchants in the Low Countries with the Regent, Margaret of Austria. Margaret's death and the news that the Emperor, Charles V, was expected in Flanders prompted the Scottish government to send confirmation of the treaty under the Great Seal, requesting imperial confirmation in return. In addition to being charged with this duty, Lindsay was also instructed to press Charles for reparation in connection with an incident of piracy committed against a Scottish ship.[38] The Emperor and Regent also seem to have urged Lindsay to intervene in negotiations concerning James V's proposed marriage, asking him to persuade the King of the advantages of

---

37 It has been asserted that earlier in his career, Lindsay visited Italy (e.g. Innes of Learney, "Sir David Lindsay of the Mount", p.146.) This is based on a passage in The Monarche where the Courtiour refers to seeing Pope Julius II wage war against Louis XII (5422-24), an allusion to the Siege of Mirandola, 1511. However, there is no real reason to view the Courtiour in this strictly autobiographical fashion and given Lindsay's position at Court in 1511, an Italian journey seems unlikely. In fact, the idea hardly seems worth mentioning but for the fact that it has proved remarkably long-lived and is still being uncritically accepted, e.g. by R. D. S. Jack, The Italian Influence on Scottish Literature (Edinburgh, 1972) p.31.

38 James V, Letters, p.191, 193 & 194. It has been suggested that Lindsay accompanied the embassy of Sir John Campbell, e.g. Murison, Sir David Lindsay, Poet and Satirist of the Old Church, p.10. Pitscottie also makes the same error. The above cited letters illustrate that this was clearly not the case.

a match with Dorothea of Denmark.[39] Although Lindsay's involvement was probably limited to the transportation of a couple of portraits, the episode was a useful introduction to the problematic business of royal match-making, an issue which would concern him further in the coming years. We know that Lindsay remained at the imperial court for over seven weeks during which time he was entertained by extravagant jousts and tournaments. These he described for the benefit of the Scottish Secretary in a letter written from Antwerp on 23 August 1531.[40] This letter, the sole extant example of Lindsay's prose, reveals him to be an acute observer with an eloquence to match and a lively interest not only in the lavish court pageantry but also in the politics of the day.

Having proved himself on this relatively low-key mission, Lindsay subsequently became involved in a series of embassies concerning the major diplomatic issue of the first part of the decade, namely James V's marriage settlement. The need to augment royal finances with a hefty dowry combined with the opportunity for participation in European affairs meant that while James occasionally contemplated a match with one of his many mistresses, he generally aimed for the hand of a foreign - usually a French - princess. In 1517, the Treaty of Rouen had provided for a French marriage, but Francis I's reluctance to fulfil his obligations periodically provoked negotiations elsewhere, negotiations which were probably intended largely to stimulate French action in the matter rather than to secure an alternative settlement. It was in an effort to effect the implementation of the Treaty of Rouen that, in 1532, the Scottish government commissioned an embassy

---

39 For details of this aspect of Lindsay's trip to Flanders see: James V, Letters, p.204-5, L.& P. Henry VIII, V, p.443 & Pitscottie, Chronicles, I, p.354.

40 B.M. Cotton MS Caligula B.I. fol.313. A facsimile can be found in Laing, Lyndsay, I, p.xxiv. Laing provides a transcript of the letter, as does Hamer (Works, IV, p.255).

consisting of the Duke of Albany (already in France), the Bishop of Ross and Sir Thomas Erskine of Brechin, Chief Secretary.[41] Lindsay accompanied this embassy.[42] His first task, however, was to secure safe conduct through England for the party travelling from north of the border and Chapuis, the imperial ambassador at the Court of Henry VIII, reported the presence of the Scottish King of Arms in February 1532.[43] Lindsay was not one of those empowered to conclude the negotiations on James's behalf (that authority was reserved to the senior members of the delegation) and his role was probably largely ceremonial, the presence of Scotland's chief officer of arms lending a symbolic dignity to the proceedings.[44] He was also useful as an on-the-spot envoy entrusted with the task of informing James of the progress of the mission. Thus, in the course of the embassy, Lindsay returned to Scotland and, with stormy weather forcing his ship to turn back from Brittany, a difficult journey was only completed after some four weeks. Eventually, however, he was able to present his report to James who then despatched him back to France with a letter for the French King.[45] Thereafter Lindsay remained with the embassy for another couple of months before returning home - again via England - in November 1532.[46]

In 1534 Erskine was again commissioned to travel to France to negotiate the proposed marriage with Francis's daughter, Madelaine, "to the fynale ending".[47] On this occasion he was accompanied by David

---

41 James V, Letters, pp.215-16.

42 T.A., VI, p.44 & 46.

43 Edmond Bapst, Les Marriages de Jaques V (Paris, 1889) p.180.

44 James V, Letters, pp.215-16.

45 Ibid., p.226.

46 S.P. Henry VIII, VIII, p.385.

47 James V, Letters, pp.257-58.

Beaton, Abbot of Arbroath, who had himself only recently returned from France. Although Lindsay received no formal instructions in connection with this embassy, the payment of his expenses effectively demonstrates his participation and he undoubtedly accompanied the party which was received by Francis I at Compiègne before being sent on to Paris.[48] From the records it is not entirely clear when Lindsay returned to Scotland but he probably accompanied Beaton home towards the end of the year.[49] This embassy threw Lindsay into close contact with Beaton, an important factor to bear in mind when we consider The Tragedie of the Cardinal in which Lindsay refers to the diplomatic activities of this period:

> In France I [Beaton] maid seir honest Uoyagis,
> Quhare I did Actis ding of Remembrance.
> Throuch me war maid Tryumphand Mariagis,
> Tyll our Souerane boith proffet and pleasance.
> (85-88)

Although the Cardinal speaks of his "honest Uoyagis", it is less likely that, at the date of the poem's composition, Lindsay shared this opinion. The passage forms part of a larger description of Beaton's "actis honorabyll", acts which also included "...Banketting, playng at cartis, and Dyse" (77 & 81). However, it should be noted that this reflects Lindsay's position in the later 1540s when his opinion of Beaton's francophile policies had become a great deal more hostile. In The Deploratioun, written in 1537, he refers approvingly to "the weill keipit ancient alliance/ Maid betwix Scotland and the realme of France" and it would not be surprising if in the 1530s Lindsay were not at all antagonistic towards proceedings in which he himself had played a significant role and which had - eventually - set a Frenchwoman on the throne, triumphantly confirming the Auld Alliance (83-84).

---

48 T.A., VI, p.232; Bapst, Les Marriages de Jaques V, p.210.

49 Sanderson, Cardinal of Scotland, p.258.

Before this could be accomplished, however, French reluctance to implement the Treaty of Rouen had to be overcome. Francis I frequently delayed proceedings by touching displays of parental concern for the health of his daughter, Madelaine, James's proposed bride. In 1534, he put forward an alternative candidate for James's hand in the person of a more remote kinswoman, Marie de Vendôme. The following year, a Scottish embassy was appointed to treat for this marriage and, on 29 March 1536, a marriage settlement was drawn up.[50] A month later, having received the Order of St Michael from the French King, James began preparations for a personal visit to France. Lindsay's involvement in the French marriage was maintained during this period, but first he was required to travel to England with Lord Erskine who was to act as proxy for James V at the latter's installation in the Order of the Garter.[51] Lindsay's participation here reflects the ceremonial and symbolic importance attached to his office. (His role, however, was not entirely symbolic and he was also charged with securing a safe conduct for the Bishop of Aberdeen who was shortly to travel through England to France.[52])

Chapuis states that subsequent to the installation on 23 August 1535, the delegation of "about thirty horses" travelled to France to join the ambassadors already there and to await the arrival of the Scottish King.[53] Whether Lindsay was of this party or whether he had already returned to Scotland is not clear. Nevertheless, the accounts for the period following clearly show that, although it is not certain

---

50 James V, Letters, pp.294-95 & 303-04.

51 At the ceremony, Lindsay received plate worth £20 (L.& P. Henry VIII, IX, no.151).

52 S.P. Henry VIII, V, p.30.

53 L.& P. Henry VIII, IX, no.178 (Chapuis mistakenly dates the installation 24 August).

whether he accompanied Erskine's party or whether he sailed with James in September 1536, Lindsay was in France for the royal marriage.[54] James's entourage, according to one English report, numbered some five hundred people, prominent amongst whom were Beaton, the Earls of Argyll, Arran and Rothes, Lord Fleming, the Laird of Drumlanrig and the Prior of Pittenweem.[55] Also present were Oliver Sinclair, Sir James Kirkcaldy of Grange and Sir John Borthwick. In addition, James took with him many household servants including Lindsay's wife, Janet Douglas.[56] On his arrival in France, James, indulging his taste for chivalric Romance, disguised himself as a servant in order that he might view his prospective bride incognito.[57] The gesture backfired, however, when he found Marie not to his taste and James reasserted his determination to marry the oft-refused Madelaine. Her father, swayed by the collapse of Anglo-French amity and the outbreak of hostilities with the Emperor, was more inclined to secure Scottish support and, consequently, a marriage contract was drawn up at Blois on 6 November 1536, followed ten days later by the religious ceremony of betrothal. The atmosphere was one of celebration as the Court departed for Fontainebleau prior to James's arrival in Paris, there to be married on New Year's Day.[58] Shortly after this, Lindsay received twenty crowns "to pass in Scotland" which suggests that he returned home some three months before the main party.[59] This may have been to announce the

54 T.A., VI, p.455 & 456, VII, p.16.

55 L.& P. Henry VIII, IX, no.400.

56 Sanderson, Cardinal of Scotland, p.63.

57 Pitscottie, Chronicles, I, p.358 (this unlikely tale is confirmed, L.& P. Henry VIII, XI, no.631).

58 Sanderson, Cardinal of Scotland, p.64. For contemporary accounts of the proceedings, see: Alexander Teulet, *Relations Politiques de la France et de l'Espagne avec L'Ecosse au XVIe Siecle*, 5 vols, (Paris, 1862) I, pp.106-08.

59 T.A., VII, p.16.

marriage officially in his capacity as chief herald or it may have been to initiate preparations for Madelaine's reception in Scotland. Given the details concerning these preparations found in Lindsay's poem, The Deploratioun of the Deith of Quene Magdalene, the latter is probably the case.

Lindsay's participation in such embassies is significant for a number of reasons. For example, it serves to illuminate the role of the herald and the manner in which the office interacted with that of ambassador. It was from their traditional deployment as messengers in the field that the employment of heralds as emissaries evolved and the despatch of the Lyon King in particular imbued any delegation with added dignity. During the reign of James IV, for example, the Lyon King was involved in a series of missions to Denmark, Germany and England.[60] Described as a man of great diplomatic skill, his role was not entirely symbolic. Nevertheless, surviving instructions suggest that he was not granted procuratorial authority. There existed important distinctions between the various types of powers any individual envoy enjoyed and not all received plenipotentiary (or procuratorial) powers, that is the authority to negotiate without reference to one's principal.[61] Although technically empowered to conclude treaties and the like, a procurator's action was generally limited by the mandate he received in the form of his instructions. A Scottish example of this is found at the marriage by proxy of James IV and Margaret Tudor, when Bothwell, standing in place of the King, described himself as Procurator having "sufficient Authority, Power and Commandment to contract matrimony *per verba de presenti*".[62] While the

60 James IV, Letters, nos.3, 5, 6, 8, 69, 71, 73-75, 85, 103 & 267.

61 Donald E. Queller, The Office of Ambassador in the Middle Ages (Princeton, 1967) p.58.

62 Leland, "Account of the Marriage between James IV and Margaret

ambassador acted originally as *nuncius* (one having no activity of his own but symbolizing the person of the principal), an increasing emphasis upon the general gathering of news and information combined with the adoption of a more ceremonial role led to his emergence as the most solemn type of diplomatic representative.[63] Hence, ambassadorial duties generally came to be reserved to those of high social status. It has been argued that during this period the title "ambassador" was not a specific, technical term but rather referred simply to "one sent on a mission".[64] Employing this definition, Lindsay can certainly be described as such. However, it appears that by this date the title in Scotland was more precise in its application. There is in fact only one occasion upon which Lindsay was described as 'ambassador' and this is the probable misconception of an ill-informed English observer.[65] A more accurate impression is conveyed by the entry in the Treasurer's Accounts recording payment "to my lordis, bishop of Ros, and Secretar, Ambassatouris in France, and to the lard of Gawistoune, and David Lyndesay, herald, being with them". Significantly, the two named as ambassadors received expenses of 600 francs each, Gaviston and Lindsay receiving only 200 and 100 francs respectively.[66]

It is in connection with the Flanders expedition of 1531 that we know most about what Lindsay actually did whilst abroad. His instructions reveal that his role was very much that of a letter-bearer, carrying confirmation of a treaty, a demand for reparation and even the portraits of possible brides for the Scottish King. He did

---

Tudor", p.261.

63 Queller, The Office of Ambassador, p.99.

64 Ibid., p.60.

65 S.P. Henry VIII, VII, p.385.

66 T.A., VI, p.46.

not, however, fail to take the opportunity to pass on such general information as he could regarding affairs in the Low Countries. Reporting the rumour of James V's death, the Emperor's intended expedition against the German Lutherans and the confirmation of Mary of Hungary as regent by the Estates in Brussels, he also referred to other despatches, presumably containing similar material, which again suggests that his diplomatic function was somewhat wider in scope than the simple delivery of messages. Nevertheless, Lindsay's position as herald meant that he was largely used for the purposes of communication rather than of negotiation. In addition, the chivalric and ceremonial aspects of heraldic office represented an important facet of any diplomatic embassy, as with Lindsay's attendance at James's installation as a Knight of the Garter. In short, the office of herald, as exercised by Lindsay and as utilized by the Scottish government, possessed important diplomatic functions which complemented and occasionally coincided with the emergent office of ambassador.

Although Lindsay's financial position was rendered relatively stable by the regular payment of his annual fee, diplomatic missions could prove expensive - it was claimed, for example, that many of the lords who accompanied James V to France in 1536 mortgaged their lands in order to equip themselves for the voyage.[67] While it was usual for the receiving government to bear the costs of a visiting embassy, the home government usually provided some form of expenses. These were not usually advanced, however, but were reimbursed, sometimes after considerable time had elapsed.[68] In the course of his career, Lindsay received several payments described as expenses but the lack of further

---

67 S.P. Henry VIII, V, iv, p.60.

68 For this general point plus examples of how costly embassies could prove for one individual (Beaton), see: Sanderson, Cardinal of Scotland, pp.58-59.

documentation relating to his personal accounts renders it impossible to say whether, despite this, he found his commissions financially onerous. Of course, diplomatic missions could also be the occasion for the receipt of largesse from a foreign power anxious to impress. Pitscottie records how, on his visit to Flanders, Lindsay "was weil resawit with the empreour and honorablie intretit and greatlie revardit ffor the king of Scotlandis saik".[69] It is more certain that Lindsay was rewarded in this way during his stay in England in 1535 when he received £20 to mark James V's installation in the Order of the Garter.[70] In addition, royal marriages seem to have been marked by gifts to the company of heralds.[71] Generally, however, Lindsay's relatively low-level position within any embassy would have made him an unlikely recipient of lavish gifts and it may well be that he found his duties something of a financial burden.

Lindsay's travels brought him into contact with courts quite different to that which he had hitherto known. England and France, both visited by him upon more than one occasion, enjoyed reputations for splendour and richness well beyond that of Scotland's relatively impoverished court. Indeed, one English observer remarked that James had never before seen so much money as the sum received for Madelaine's dowry.[72] With regard to his French experiences (specifically in connection with the royal marriage) Lindsay wrote:

---

69 Pitscottie, Chronicles, I, p.354. He makes a similar comment in connection with Lindsay's trip to England in 1543, (II, p.6.)

70 L.& P. Henry VIII, IX, nos.151 & 165.

71 At the marriage of James IV and Margaret Tudor, the wedding gowns of each were presented to the heralds of England and Scotland respectively. (Margaret later substituted forty nobles and reclaimed her dress.) Leland, "Account of the Marriage of James IV and Margaret Tudor", pp.296-97.

72 L.& P. Henry VIII, XI, no.1305.

> I neuer did se one day more glorious,
> So mony in so riche abilyementis
> Of silk and gold, with stonis precious,
> Sic Banketting, sic sound of Instrumentis,
> With sang, and dance, & Martiall tournamentis.
> (The Deploratioun, 85-89)

Even allowing for a degree of poetic exaggeration, it seems fair to say that the splendour of the French Court - a court intent upon the entertainment of its Scottish guests - made a profound impression. The self-conscious splendour of these courts was, to some extent, paralleled in the person of the King. Thus it was that Lindsay received not only different perspectives of court culture but also different views of kingship, the rather more isolated and idealised figures of Francis I and Henry VIII providing a contrast with traditional Scottish images of kingship.

The time spent by Lindsay abroad also ensured his exposure to the changing intellectual climate of Europe and, with regard to literary conventions and techniques, his travels exerted a decisive influence upon his work. His poems (and, of course, Ane Satyre of the Three Estatis) forcibly illustrate his familiarity with a wide variety of literary traditions both French and English.[73] For example, the term "deploration" (used in Lindsay's poem of that name) while virtually unknown in England and Scotland, was relatively common in France.[74] Travel such as Lindsay enjoyed by virtue of his heraldic office provides but one example of the type of cultural cross-fertilization that ensured the ideas of Renaissance Europe were transmitted to Scotland.

---

73 Anna Jean Mill, "The Influence of the Continental Drama in Lyndsay's *Saytre of the Thrie Estatis*", Modern Language Review, XXV, (1930) pp.425-42.

74 Hamer, Works, III, p.126. Hamer goes on to note the existence of several French marriage songs written on the occasion of Madelaine's wedding which, he ventures, may have provided Lindsay with inspiration for his own work (pp.126-30).

Lindsay's poem, The Deploratioun, was written following the death of Madelaine who - as her father had feared - proved too frail to survive her wedding by more than a few months. As acting chief officer of arms, Lindsay played a major role in supervising preparations for the royal funeral.[75] Responsibility for ordering funeral ceremonies, particularly of the aristocracy and of royalty, had gradually been assumed by the officers of arms. Lindsay's poem, The Historie of Squyer Meldrum, offers a detailed account of just such an aristocratic funeral and he was clearly involved in the royal funerals of 1537 and 1543.

Following his return to Scotland in January 1537, Lindsay was not to leave the country for the remainder of the reign. After a period of intense diplomatic activity in the first half of the decade, why was he no longer employed in this capacity? The answer is elusive. It may simply be that the type of embassy on which his presence was appropriate was less frequently undertaken, for while the chief herald added to the prestige of a delegation seeking the hand of a foreign princess, his presence was not necessarily suited to the embassies of the latter part of the reign dealing primarily with increasingly strained Anglo-Scottish relations. Having said this, Lindsay was not, however, associated with the embassy despatched to France after Madelaine's death in order to secure a new bride for the King of Scots. James's choice for a second wife was the recently widowed Mary of Guise-Lorraine, a match which would firmly commit him to the French interest and would link him with one of the most powerful and most orthodox Catholic families at the French Court. After some delay in the negotiations (complicated by Henry VIII's bid for the young widow's

---

75 Lindsay, described here as 'Lyoun herald', received his 'pow penny' payment (the payment traditionally given to the herald at funerals) on the occasion of the funeral of Queen Madelaine (T.A., VI, p.423). Funerals are discussed more fully in Chapter Five.

hand), the marriage contract was drawn up in January 1538. The marriage by proxy (Lord Maxwell taking James's place) was solemnized on 4 May 1538 and on 10 June the new bride landed at Balcomie near Crail, Fife.[76] Lindsay was almost certainly present at the ceremony confirming the marriage which took place in St Andrews Cathedral shortly after Mary's arrival, for although he had not been party to the negotiations in France, he was very much involved in the preparations for the new Queen's reception. This explains his absence on the French embassy, for James V was anxious to prepare for his French wife (and, more especially, for the important kinsfolk who accompanied her) a display comparable to that which he had himself received in France. Heralds appear to have played an important part in royal marriage celebrations. Called upon to "cry largesse", they distributed amongst the Court the gifts which symbolized the King's wealth and generosity.[77] Moreover, Lindsay, with his experience of French spectacle and with his flair for the dramatic, was the ideal person to arrange the festivities greeting the new Queen.

Pitscottie describes Mary's reception at St Andrews and although his is the only account of the episode, the facts of the author's family relationship with Lindsay and his familiarity with Fife may render this more reliable than other episodes he records:

> And first scho was ressavit at the New Abbay geit. Wpon the eist syde thair was maid to hir ane trieumphant frais be Schir Dawid Lyndsay of the Mount, lyoun harrot, quhilk causit ane great clude come out of the heavins done abone the yeit quhair the quene come in, and oppin in two halffis instantlie and thair appeirit ane fair lady most lyke ane angell havand the keyis of haill Scotland in hir handis deliuerand thame into the quens grace in signe and taikin that the heartis of Scottland was opinit to the ressawing of hir grace, witht certane wriosouns and exortatiouns maid be the said Schir Dawid Lyndsay into the quens grace instructioun quhilk

---

76 Sanderson, Cardinal of Scotland, pp.66-67.

77 Leland, "Account of the Marriage between James IV and Margaret Tudor", p.295.

> teichit hir to serue her god, obey hir husband, and keep hir body clene according to godis willand commandement.[78]

Pitscottie goes onto describe the festivities which ensued at St Andrews following the wedding: the "great merrienes and game and iusting and ryoting at the listis, archorie, huntting and halking, with singing and danceing, menstrelling and playing, with wther princlie game and pastyme according to king and quein".[79] This may have sparked the composition of The Iusting betuix Iames Watsoun and Ihone Barbour. The comical joust herein described by Lindsay was supposed to have taken place at St Andrews on Whit Monday. Certainly, as Mary arrived on Whit Sunday, the Court was in the town at this time. However, the Court was habitually in St Andrews at this time of year and jousting was common.[80] The poem could, therefore, have been written at any time between 1538 and 1540 but, given Lindsay's heavy involvement in the preparations for the reception of Mary of Guise, a later composition date seems more likely.

Lindsay was not only occupied with the pageantry at St Andrews, he was also responsible for the arrangements for Mary's entry into Edinburgh in July 1538. The welcome, in French, delivered to the Queen by one Henry Lawder was "devysit with avyse of Maister Adame Otterburne, Maister James Foulis, and Dauid Lyndsay".[81] Both Otterburn and Foulis were accomplished poets. Foulis had published, probably in 1511, a volume of Latin verse dedicated to Alexander Stewart, James V's half brother and Archbishop of St Andrews, which concluded with an

---

78 Pitscottie, Chronicles, I, p.379. Royal entries are discussed more fully in Chapter Five.

79 Pitscottie, Chronicles, I, p.381. For confirmation that a tournament was staged see: Henry M. Paton, ed., Accounts of the Master of Works 1529-1615 (Edinburgh, 1957) pp.221-22.

80 Hamer, Works, III, p.140.

81 Extracts from the Records of the Burgh of Edinburgh, (S.B.R.S., 1860-1916) II, p.91.

invitation to his fellow Scots to embrace literature as a profession and he may be the anonymous author of the Latin composition known as *Strena*. Although described by the Italian humanist Giovanni Ferrerio as a "poet to the tips of his fingers", Foulis did not confine his energies to verse; he was also a practising lawyer, becoming a Lord of Session in 1526, Clerk Register in 1532, and after 1529, Secretary.[82] Otterburn too was a lawyer, acting as King's Advocate between the years 1524-38. Less is known of his poetic achievements but it appears that he wrote a set of hexameters used by Buchanan as the basis of a Latin epigram. Buchanan also commemorated Otterburn's achievements in verse.[83] The achievements of men such as Foulis and Otterburn clearly point to a flourishing court culture which, as we shall see, owed much to the influence of Renaissance humanism. Lindsay's association with Foulis and Otterburn is highly significant, suggesting perhaps that their joint composition owed something to the humanist tradition. Interestingly, in The Deploratioun, Lindsay refers to the "ornate Oratouris" (a common contemporary term for humanists) who were to have greeted Madelaine (162). Unfortunately, we shall never know the exact nature of the oration delivered in Edinburgh but it does seem to have impressed the woman to whom it was addressed. Mary's mother (who had felt her daughter would have done better to marry the English King) wrote expressing her joy - and relief - at receiving Mary's account of her fine reception in Scotland.[84]

It was not until the very end of the reign that Lindsay began regularly to assume the title of Lyon King of Arms. His official

---

82 For details on Foulis see: J. Durkan, "The Beginnings of Humanism in Scotland", Innes Review, IV, (1953) pp.5-24, pp.7-8.

83 John A. Inglis, Sir Adam Otterburn of Redhall (Glasgow, 1935) pp.117-18.

84 L.& P. Henry VIII, XIII, ii, no.30.

appointment was marked in October of that year with the receipt of "twa chalderis of aittis " (oats) per annum for the maintenance of his stable and by his knighthood.[85] In many respects the official appointment would have made little difference to Lindsay's duties for he had acted as Lyon King before this. However, he did now begin to assume some of the duties more specific to the chief officer of arms, particularly as described in the Act of 1592, and we find him exercising his authority both with regard to the administration of the law of arms and to the governing of the heralds. Sir George Mackenzie, writing in 1680, reports a case of 1550 brought before Lindsay by Burnet of Burnetland against Burnet of Leys requesting that the latter change his motto and, as we have already seen, Lindsay was also involved in the disciplining of errant messengers.[86]

In 1542, Lindsay fulfilled his responsibility to matriculate all grants of arms (a responsibility specified in the 1592 legislation) by producing his Armorial Register, the earliest known extant official Register of Arms in Scotland.[87] Although Lindsay seems to have supervised the production of the manuscript, he was not its exclusive scribe and at least three different hands can be seen, none of which greatly resemble the script of Lindsay's letter written from Antwerp in 1531. However, these hands, unlike the latter, display varying degrees of italic influence and it may still be possible for one of them to be Lindsay's. The armorial contains the arms of Scotland, of various foreign princes, of John Balliol, of St Margaret and the Stewart

---

85 R.S.S., II, no.4910. (There is no record of Lindsay bearing the title "Sir David" before this date.)

86 Stevenson, Heraldry in Scotland, I, p.62.

87 N.L.S. ADV. MS 31.4.3 (bound with later material). This has been reproduced under the title Facsimile of an Ancient Heraldic Manuscript Emblazoned by Sir David Lyndsay of the Mount, Lyon King of Armes, 1542 (Edinburgh, 1822).

queens, of the nobility and of the principal families of Scotland. In addition, there are also the arms of the three kings who attended Christ's nativity and "the Armys off the nyne maist nobill", that is of the Nine Worthies of chivalric historiography: David, Joshua, Judas Maccabeus, Julius Caesar, Alexander the Great, Hector of Troy, Charlemagne, Arthur and Godfrey of Bouillon. The Armorial vividly illustrates Lindsay's total familiarity with the traditions of chivalry and the brief descriptions attached to some of the arms (particularly to those of the Queens) demonstrates the importance genealogy had within the traditions of Scottish chivalric culture.

The Armorial possesses several features worthy of more detailed consideration. Firstly, the manuscript opens with a Latin verse which, in conventional fashion, offers an introduction to the work, celebrating the nobility of those whose arms are recorded within. If Lindsay's, this is the only example we have of his Latin composition. It is interesting that Lindsay chose to include this Latin verse but elsewhere favoured the vernacular, the only other Latin used being the passage accompanying the particularly splendid arms of the sole clerical representative, Cardinal Beaton. His decision provides testimony to the growing importance of the vernacular and recognition of its status as the language of the Court.[88]

Lindsay also chose to include in his Armorial the arms of forfeited traitors. This flew in the face of accepted thinking which held that a traitor was like "the dry and rotten tree" whose memory should be "abolished and extinguished".[89] Lindsay justified his unorthodox approach on the grounds that it honoured their noble predecessors, shamed the guilty and set an example deterring others

---

88 See Chapter Five.

89 "*Discours Particulier D'Escosse*", p.119.

from such heinous crimes.[90] This passage clearly echoes the 1540 Act for "Ordering of Process of Forfeiture" which arranged for all such sentences passed either in parliament or the justice courts to be authentically copied and gathered together in one book partly because they might otherwise be lost or destroyed and partly because "the memor of tratouris suld remane to the schame and sclander of thame that ar cummin of thame and to the terror of all vthirs to comit siclik in tymes cumming".[91] The fact that the majority of those named by the statute are included in the Armorial suggests that Lindsay knew of the act and may, indeed, have fashioned his work partly to satisfy its requirements.

Another passage of interest is found on the final leaf of the manuscript. This offers a brief analysis of various Scottish patronymics, noting those which arrived in Scotland from England with St Margaret (including Lindsay), those which derived from France (including Beaton) and those of Hungarian origin.[92] Lindsay attributes this analysis to "the cronikillis of Scotland", a reference to John Bellenden's Chronicles of Scotland translated from the Latin original of Hector Boece.[93] In addition to illustrating the influence and currency of Bellenden's work (particularly in a chivalric context) this link between Bellenden and Lindsay may also add weight to the suggestion that the latter was responsible for designing the woodcut depicting the arms of Scotland which was used for Thomas Davidson's edition of Bellenden's Chronicles and also for the same printer's

90 ADV. MS 31.4.3, fol.53.

91 A.P.S., II, p.361.

92 ADV. MS 31.4.3, fol.111.

93 R. W. Chambers & Edith C. Batho ed., The Chronicles of Scotland compiled by Hector Boece Translated into Scots by John Bellenden (1531), 2 vols, (S.T.S., 1938-41) II, p.169. Boece contains the same passage (*Scotorum Historiae* (Paris, 1527) fol.266^{v}).

publication of James V's Acts of Parliament.[94] The idea that arms were originally taken for the same reasons as were names and surnames, that is, for the purposes of identification and distinction, is familiar enough (being found, for example in Hay's Buke of the Lawe of Armes) and it may explain why Lindsay felt the reference appropriate in an armorial register.[95] However, it may also be that drawing attention to the racial origins of some of the principal families of Scotland in this way and at this time was an attempt to defuse aggressive nationalist, particularly anglophobic, sentiments. Clearly, Lindsay for one was not unhappy with this reminder of a supposed English ancestry.

That Lindsay bore the symbolic office of Lyon King during this period has some considerable importance. Granted the right to bestow arms, the Lyon King was a special delegate of royal authority and, while it is true that with regard to the exercise of judicial authority he remained, in theory at least, subordinate to the Constable, in symbolic terms he stood at the apex of the heraldic hierarchy. This was signified in a number of ways. For example, he was permitted - as was no other subject - to wear the king's own armorial coat, thereby emphasizing the relationship between Lyon King and his sovereign.[96] The bond was further enhanced by the coronation ritual. Although

---

94 R. Dickson & J. P. Edmond, Annals of Scottish Printing from the Introduction of the Art in 1507 to the Beginning of the Seventeenth Century (Cambridge, 1890) p.109. See also: Hamer, Works, IV, p.18.

95 Hay, The Buke of the Lawe of Armes, p.277. The passage is also found in Lindsay of Rathillet's Heraldic Manuscript (ADV. MS 31.5.2. fol.124) although this is probably a later addition.

96 Stevenson, Heraldry in Scotland, I, p.42. See too Figure Three, "Woodcut of a Herald", taken from Ane Dialog betuix Experience and ane Courteour of the Miserabill Estait of the Warld, Compilit be Schir Dauid Lyndesay of the Mont, Knycht alias Lyoune Kyng of Armes (Paris, 1558). Whether this is intended as a representation of Lindsay himself is not altogether clear but the early date of the edition suggests that the heraldic outfit at least was probably accurate.

Figure Three

Woodcut of a Herald
(Ane Dialogue, Paris, 1558)
Courtesy of the National Library of Scotland

Lindsay himself was only involved in the coronation of Mary of Guise (February 1540) and not that of an actual sovereign, the Lyon King played a significant role in the ceremony; affirming the king's willingness to accept the Crown, bearing one of the jugs of oil with which he was anointed, rehearsing the royal genealogy and announcing the king's arrival to his people.[97] The Lyon himself was also crowned.[98] A near contemporary description of Lindsay refers to his "Orange Tawnie" tunic emblazoned with a lion and to "a Croune of riche golde on his hedde".[99] It may be, therefore, that the office was imbued with a quasi-royal aura. To strike the Lyon King was to commit a particularly heinous offence as was demonstrated in 1515 by Lord Drummond who, for "the putting of violent handis in lioun king of armis", could have lost his life but who was instead forfeited in parliament.[100] In the sixteenth century, the office of Lyon King was

---

97 Evidence relating to the Scottish coronation ritual during this period is scanty. B.M. ADD. MS 35844, fols 191^{r}-192^{v} which purports to be "Ane Form of the Coronation of the Kinges of Scotland" (sixteenth century) was actually penned by the second Earl of Hardwicke who, unfortunately, does not give his source. For an account of a seventeenth century ceremony, see that of Sir James Balfour of Denmilne, N.L.S. ADV. MS 32.2.6. fols 36^{r}-42^{v}, collated with two English sources and printed in The Manner of the Coronation of King Charles I of England (Henry Bradshaw Liturgical Text Society, 1892) pp.94-106. The available evidence is assessed by R. Lyall, "The Medieval Scottish Coronation Service: Some Seventeenth Century Evidence", Innes Review, 28, (1977) pp.3-21. For the recitation of the royal pedigree and its early history see: John Bannerman, "The King's Poet and the Inauguration of Alexander III", S.H.R., LXVIII, (1989) pp.120-49. See too Chapter Five.

98 Lyall, "The Medieval Scottish Coronation Service", p.7; Stevenson, Heraldry in Scotland, I, p.42.

99 M. W. & A. H. Bullein, ed., A Dialogue against the Feuer Pestilence by William Bullein from the Edition of 1578 collated with the earlier editions of 1564 and 1573 (E.E.T.S., 1888) This description only appears in the 1564 edition. How reliable Dr Bullein is, is not clear. He claims the lion on Lindsay's breast was white when it was surely red but he did come from the north of England and his account was written less than ten years after Lindsay's death.

100 A.P.S., II, p.284. The forfeiture passed in 1515 was rescinded the following year.

probably held for life. This seems demonstrated by Pettigrew's continued tenure despite obvious incapacity. Although Lindsay's successor, Sir Robert Forman of Luthrie, appears to have resigned his position, it was not until the seventeenth century that retirement for reasons of age or ill health became common.[101] The fate of Forman's successor, William Stewart, is perhaps instructive. Stewart was only in office six months before being deprived. Imprisoned for necromancy and conspiracy to kill the Regent, it was his opposition to the latter that lay behind his execution in August 1569. Perhaps this extreme measure was deemed necessary to shift a political opponent who, by virtue of his office, would have otherwise proved difficult to deal with. This may help explain what has appeared so puzzling to so many commentators, including Lindsay's first general editor, Henry Charteris. "How cummis it than", he pondered, "that this our Author being sa plane aganis thame [churchmen]...culd eschaip thair snairis, quhen vtheris, in doing les, hes cruellie perischit?"[102] With the certainty of a good Calvinist, Charteris ascribed it to "the prouydence, the Iudgement, the power, and the inmensible fauor and mercie of God towartis his sanctis and elect". Perhaps, however, the answer lies - in part at least - with this perception of the quasi-royal nature of his position. Moreover, in Lindsay's case, the symbolic significance of his office was complemented, perhaps enhanced, by his well known personal association with the King. This fusion of official and personal bonds may have offered further protection not

---

101 For biographical details, see: F. J. Grant, The Court of the Lord Lyon, 1318-1945, (S.R.S., 1946).

102 The Warkis of the famous and vorthie knicht Schir Dauid Lyndesay of the Mont...Imprentit by Iohne Scot at the expensis of Henrie Charteris (1568), Preface (fol.3^{v} & 4^{v}). Also in Hamer, Works, I, p.309 & 401.

only during the reign of James V but also, as we shall see, during the dangerous decades which followed.

Chapter Three

Success and Survival: 1530-1555

By the year 1530, Lindsay had been closely associated with the Court for almost twenty years. Already he had experienced the highs and lows of a life spent in the service of the Crown and seen too the difference between a strong, self-confident administration and one characterized by factional struggle and the breakdown of government. It was a cycle he would see repeated in the decades ahead. While the 1530s saw Lindsay enjoying considerable success at Court, after 1543 he found himself in an increasingly difficult position, beset by political dangers and personal anguish.

I

Before this, however, Lindsay's fortunes continued to prosper. Following the traumatic period of the minority, the 1530s saw the emergence of a more stable administration, steadily growing in confidence. Scotland again claimed a place on the European stage as James V played the royal marriage market for all it was worth. He succeeded - apparently - in establishing the dynasty and through a combination of Stewart application and ingenuity, the depleted royal coffers were replenished. This growing confidence was reflected in such displays of royal authority as the progresses around the north of the country in 1540 and 1541, expenditure on lavish ceremonial and, above all, on the elaborate reconstruction of the royal residences at Falkland, Linlithgow and Stirling. The importance of his continued association with the Court during this period cannot be too heavily stressed, for only by locating Lindsay so firmly within this context is it possible to appreciate the highly political nature of his work.

Those topics which so preoccupied Lindsay during this period were very much determined by his own activities and experiences, by his heraldic background and the courtly environment in which he lived. Yet at the same time, issues like kingship, authority and service were questions of such fundamental and universal importance that there already existed a rich intellectual heritage relating to them. In addition, the Renaissance saw such topics become the object of a new or, more accurately of a re-focused, debate as the influence of humanist scholarship made itself felt throughout Western Europe. However, so protean has use of the term 'humanism' become and so numerous the sub-classes it has spawned that, before examining its impact in Scotland, we must briefly consider the problem of its definition.[1] First coined in nineteenth century Germany, the term humanism is something of a chameleon, readily changing its meaning according to who uses it. As most commonly employed today, it evokes a set of beliefs or philosophical outlook which stresses the dignity of man and the importance of the human (rather than the divine or the supernatural) world. Historians, however, have been increasingly concerned to establish a more precise definition, one with more meaning for the intellectual context of the Renaissance. To this end, they have emphasised the importance attatched to the recovery and interpretation of classical texts and highlighted the influence of classical models on Renaissance scholarship. An even more strictly defined approach, one that offers a simple and clear-cut starting point, is that advocated by Paul Oskar Kristeller. Stressing its essentially educational character, Kristeller views humanism as a

---

1 A useful introduction can be found in Albert Rabil, Jr. ed., Renaissance Humanism: Foundations, Forms and Legacy, 3 vols, (Philadelphia, 1988) 3, "Preface", pp.295-309. See also, Trinkhaus, The Scope of Renaissance Humanism, p.3.

scholarly discipline firmly located within the rhetorical tradition.[2] Humanists were first and foremost teachers and students of the *studia humanitatis* (grammar, rhetoric, ethics, poetry and history), concerned above all with the rhetorical tradition, with eloquence of expression and clarity of communication. This narrow definition has been quite widely accepted.[3] But, while the move away from vague discussions of humanism as 'philosophical outlook' or 'attitude to life' has proved helpful in some respects, such an approach is not altogether satisfactory. Scholars have rightly drawn attention to the fact that, particularly in Northern Europe, humanism did have a discernible and potent cultural impact, one which extended into many different cultural spheres. No educational programme can exist in a moral vacuum, totally independent of any value system, and humanism certainly did not. Concern for the *studia humanitatis* had ramifications beyond Kristeller's narrowly circumscribed definition of humanism and could not help but spill over into such areas as personal morality, politics, government and social relations. Not only did the classical texts of the humanist canon carry implicit moral and cultural messages but, as an educational programme, humanism had to have some kind of goal. That goal was the enhanced participation of man (specifically of the layman) in a wider sphere of activity, in the service of the Church and the Prince, in the pursuit of Christian truth and the public good.

As such, humanism also touched the lives of men who may not have possessed the expertise in classical scholarship necessary for the strictly defined humanist but who nevertheless were clearly - sometimes profoundly - influenced by humanist thinking. After all, men might be

---

2 M. Mooney ed., Renaissance Thought and its Sources: Paul Oscar Kristeller (New York, 1979) p.22.

3 Alistair Fox, "Facts and Fallacies, Interpreting English Humanism", in Alistair Fox & John Guy, Reassessing the Henrician Age: Humanism, Politics and Reform, 1500-1550 (Oxford & New York, 1986) pp.9-39.

attracted by Erasmus's evangelical, didactic programme of personal piety without necessarily having travelled with him in the fields of Greek and New Testament scholarship. Arguably, it is the very existence of such individuals which makes humanism such an important phenomenon. The importance of what may be termed 'vernacular humanism' - the attachment to humanist ideals shown by those who were not strictly speaking humanists themselves - must not be underestimated.[4] As we shall see, Lindsay was obviously familiar with some of the key figures of the emergent humanistic court culture, his poetry amply illustrates the influence of a humanistic ethos and, if not a technical humanist himself, he represents an important example of a Scottish vernacular humanist.[5]

Discussion of the term humanism leads naturally on to an analysis of its character within Renaissance Scotland. "To venture a sketch of early Scottish humanism in the present state of our knowledge is probably very rash." Thus wrote John Durkan in 1953.[6] Since then, however, work in the field, not least Dr Durkan's own, has considerably advanced our understanding of the subject.[7] While there are still

---

4 The idea of a 'vernacular humanism' was suggested by Priscilla Bawcutt's use of the term in her assessment of Gavin Douglas who clearly fits into this important category (Gavin Douglas, A Critical Study (Edinburgh, 1976) p.36).

5 Differences in understanding the term humanism obviously determine different assessments of Lindsay's reputation as a humanist. For Hamer, the fact that Lindsay knew no Greek or Hebrew meant that he could not be so labelled (Works, IV, p.xli), while MacQueen, adopting a more uncritical approach, considers him a humanist placing him alongside Mair, Boece, Buchanan and Napier ("Conclusion" Humanism in Renaissance Scotland, p.178). The concept of vernacular humanism provides a meaningful way of addressing this problem.

6 Durkan, "The Beginnings of Humanism", p.5.

7 In addition to the above, see by the same author: "The Cultural Background in Sixteenth Century Scotland", in Essays on the Scottish Reformation, pp.274-331; "Early Humanism and King's College" Aberdeen University Review, XLVIII, (1979-80) pp.259-79; "Giovanni Ferrerio, Humanist; his influence in Sixteenth Century Scotland" in K. Robbins, ed., Studies in Church History; Vol.17, Religion and Humanism (Oxford, 1981) pp.181-94. See also: John MacQueen, "Some

those who dismiss Scottish humanism ("the culture of the court and city, which it presupposes, was still not sufficiently developed"[8]), recent scholarship has amply refuted the misconception that its effects were only felt in Scotland either briefly during the reign of James IV or else not until it became relevant to a small group of Protestants centring around George Buchanan. This is hardly surprising for there was a considerable degree of cultural cross-fertilization between Scotland and the Continent. The exchange of ideas was facilitated by the prevalence of literature printed abroad (especially in France) and by the Scottish taste for study in centres such as Pavia, Louvain, Cologne, Orleans, Bourges, Toulouse, Bordeaux, Poitiers, Angers, Montpellier and, above all, Paris.[9] Many of these students returned to their homeland, notably as teachers in the Scottish universities. Humanist study was associated particularly with Aberdeen, the most recently founded of Scotland's universities, whose first principal, Hector Boece, had studied at Paris where he was a companion of the celebrated Dutch humanist, Erasmus. Indeed, in 1496, the latter dedicated a small volume of poetry to his Scottish friend.[10] It was not only within the universities (Aberdeen in particular) that humanist ideas took hold. By the 1530s, humanist influences were already

---

Aspects of the Early Renaissance in Scotland" Forum for Modern Language Studies, III, (1967) pp.201-22 and edited by the same author, Humanism in Renaissance Scotland (Edinburgh, 1990). See also Bawcutt, Gavin Douglas cited above; Leslie J. McFarlane, William Elphinstone and the Kingdom of Scotland, 1431-1514 (Aberdeen, 1985) and Ian B. Cowan & Duncan Shaw ed., The Renaissance and Reformation in Scotland (Edinburgh, 1983).

8 Gottfried Locher, Zwingli's Thought; New Perspectives in the Series Studies in the History of Christian Thought, Vol.XXV (Leiden, 1981) p.370.

9 Durkan & Ross, Early Scottish Libraries: Durkan, "The Cultural Background in Sixteenth Century Scotland", pp.278-81. For a detailed list of Scottish students abroad, see pp.319-26.

10 Durkan, "Early Humanism and King's College", p.261.

associated with the royal Secretariat. A distinguished line of secretaries included such humanistic luminaries as Archibald Whitelaw, Patrick Paniter and, in the reign of James V, Lindsay's associate, James Foulis.[11] Furthermore, outwith the Secretariat, increasing numbers of Scots were coming into contact with humanist learning. While this was often the result of studying abroad, it was sometimes due to certain individuals, for example, the Italian humanist, Giovanni Ferrerio. While in Paris, Ferrerio made the acquaintance of Buchanan and Boece and also Robert Richardson. The latter subsequently introduced him to Robert Reid, designate Abbot of Kinloss and future Bishop of Orkney. Ferrerio visited Scotland twice (1528-37 and 1540-45) and was hugely influential in ensuring that Kinloss became a centre of humanist learning. His influence, however, was not confined to the monastic community. He also struck up an acquaintance with the Gordons of Huntly and with the Earl of Moray. Furthermore, he spent a three year period at the Scottish Court (1528-31) where his companions included Sir John Campbell of Lundy, Sir Thomas Scot of Petgorno (a Lord of Session and future Justice Clerk), Laurence Telfer, Sir James Foulis and Sir Walter Lindsay of Torphichen, Knight of Rhodes and kinsman of the poet.[12] Ferrerio's attachment to the Court suggests that the intellectual atmosphere he found there was, to some extent, receptive to his ideas and to humanism in general. While it is wrong to view the court culture of James's reign as exclusively, or even predominantly, humanistic, it is clear that such influences were making themselves felt. As we shall see, court culture during this period was

11 Whitelaw's Latin oration delivered to Richard III (1484) has been described as 'the earliest extant piece of extended humanist prose delivered by a Scot', (MacQueen, "Some Aspects of the Early Renaissance in Scotland", p.207).

12 For this information and further details concerning Ferrerio, see: Durkan, "Giovanni Ferrerio, Humanist; His Influence in Sixteenth Century Scotland".

an intriguing fusion of many different elements. Traditional Scottish expectations of kingship, an attachment to the cult of chivalry and a concern for humanist values all conditioned the ethos of a court which could, without too much difficulty, be both rumbustious and serious-minded.

In the light of this, we can begin the tentative identification of those humanists at Court during the reign of James V. These include Sir James Foulis and Sir Adam Otterburn, the two neo-Latinists who collaborated with Lindsay in the preparation of the orations delivered to Mary of Guise in 1538. Another lawyer who was probably influenced by humanism was the Pavia trained Sir Thomas Erskine of Brechin who may have suggested the title "College of Justice", a term familiar in Italy, for the newly endowed Court of Session. Lindsay would have known Erskine by virtue of the latter's position as Secretary and through the French embassy of 1532 with which both men were associated. Robert Galbraith, a Parisian trained lawyer, later Queen's Advocate and Lord of Session, was also a neo-Latin poet and probably closely associated with Foulis.[13] Galbraith may be one of the writers listed by Lindsay in his literary encomium in The Testament of the Papyngo (47).[14] As the majority of the identifiable poets cited by Lindsay are vernacular authors working at Court, this identification is not altogether likely, but it is perhaps significant that Lindsay's highest praise was reserved for those involved in that most humanist-inspired business, translation. Amongst his contemporaries, Lindsay makes particular mention of John Bellenden, translator of Boece's *Scotorum Historiae* and of the first five books of Livy's History of

---

13 A.D.C.P., p.430 & 459. Also: Durkan, "The Beginnings of Humanism", p.10.

14 Durkan, "The Beginnings of Humanism", p.7.

Rome (49-54).[15] Moreover, the acknowledged master, "Off Eloquence the flowand balmy strand,/ And, in our Inglis rethorik, the rose," is Gavin Douglas, acclaimed in particular for his "trew Translatioun/ Off Uirgill" (23-24 & 33-34).[16] Vernacular translations, demanded by wealthy patrons eager to tap the wisdom of the classics, had become increasingly common in the course of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.[17] The work of John Bellenden, commissioned and paid for by the Crown, nicely demonstrate the extent to which humanist scholarship stimulated this growth in secular literature.[18]

With the task of identifying humanists still at an early stage, it is difficult to assess the extent to which humanism acted as a cultural force within a court context. For humanism to flourish, we might expect the patronage of a social élite to have been important. One example of a man at the top of the social hierarchy, taught according to humanist tenets, was the illegitimate son of James IV, James Stewart, Earl of Moray, who had joined his brother Alexander in Padua with his tutor Erasmus, who probably learnt both Latin and Greek and who later in life was a close associate of Ferrerio.[19] A clearer example of the patronage of humanists is provided by the employment of George Buchanan as tutor to Gilbert Kennedy, future Earl of Cassilis.[20] Buchanan (who appears to have been influenced by the educational

15 W. A. Craigie, ed., Livy's History of Rome, the First Five Books Translated into Scots by John Bellenden, 1533, 2 vols, (S.T.S., 1901-03).

16 David F. C. Coldwell, ed., Vergil's Aeneid Translated into Scottish Verse by Gavin Douglas, 4 vols, (S.T.S., 1957-64).

17 Green, Poets and Princepleasers, p.149. Green makes the point that translators, working to a commission, were often much better treated than other court writers.

18 T.A., V, p.434, VI, p.37, 97, 98 & 208.

19 Durkan, "The Beginnings of Humanism", p.6.

20 I. D. McFarlane, Buchanan (London, 1981) pp.42-47.

writings of Erasmus, Vives and Linacre) was subsequently employed to tutor James V's illegitimate son, while following his flight from Court in 1539, the responsibility passed to his brother Patrick, also accounted something of a humanist.[21] The royal commission of Bellenden's translations further suggests that James was sympathetic to humanism or at least was determined to emulate the kind of patronage increasingly associated with European monarchs such as Francis I and Henry VIII. James also corresponded with the outstanding figure of Northern humanism, Erasmus, and upon at least one occasion appears to have offered a sympathetic hearing.[22] There seem to have been several important connections between Scotland and Erasmus and Durkan's contention that "there was probably an Erasmian party at court" appears reasonable.[23] Sadly, questions relating to the patronage of humanism remain largely unanswered. However, the fact that men such as Foulis, Otterburn, Erskine, Galbraith and even Lindsay rose to prominence suggests - if not the deliberate patronage of humanists - at least that their abilities were perceived as useful.[24] In particular there seems

---

21 Ibid., p.21 & 48.

22 James V, Letters, p.271 (July 1534).

23 Durkan, "The Beginnings of Humanism", p.10.

24 It is worth noting here the debate concerning possible links between humanism, patronage and government in Tudor England. See for example: James Kesley McConica, English Humanism and Reformation Politics under Henry VIII and Edward VI (Oxford, 1965) & Arthur J. Slavin, "Profitable Studies: Humanism and Government in Early Tudor England", Viator, I, (1970) pp.307-25. Maintaining the need for a strict definition of humanism, Fox has recently challenged the conventional idea that the advancement of learned, literary men was due to their humanist background ("Facts and Fallacies", p.17). He goes on to argue that while humanism was influential in certain areas - notably the religious life and education - it was not a direct influence upon politics. He refutes McConica's hitherto influential thesis that the Henrician reform programme was underwritten by an Erasmian ideology and suggests that any contribution to English political life was made by a very different, more pragmatic brand of English humanism ("English Humanism and the Body Politic", in Reassessing the Henrician Age, pp.34-51).

to have been a strong connection between humanism and the law, something possibly accounted for by study undertaken in Europe, especially Paris.[25] However, to what extent and in what respects humanism actually influenced politics is not clear. By fostering the education of laymen, it made possible their careers in the royal administration, but, beyond this, there was no precise political agenda associated with humanist scholarship. As in England, its most direct effects were probably felt in education and religion (although this type of pigeon-holing is not very helpful as the latter in particular possessed an inescapably political dimension).

It is, however, important to consider the educational and religious character which humanism most certainly did possess. Significantly, by eschewing the traditional distinction between a lay and clerical education, humanism offered new educational opportunities to the former. This had important cultural implications for the lay élite, refashioning ideas relating to the attributes, role and status of this social group. In addition, humanism provided the practical skills which allowed lay men to participate in government in a way hitherto the preserve of the clergy. The 'mixed' composition stipulated for the College of Justice clearly demonstrates the extent to which lay aspirations in this respect were being recognized.[26] Lindsay too provides an important example of this laicizing tendency for while the great poets of Scotland's past (notably Henryson, Douglas and Dunbar) had all been clerics, Lindsay wrote from a lay perspective. This is not to say that his work was necessarily more secular in tone but his poems do encapsulate something of the *mentalité* and aspirations

25 John Guy notes a similar connection between English Humanism and the law and suggests that this is due to the intellectual revival in the Inns of Court, an explanation not applicable to the Scottish situation (Tudor England (Oxford & New York, 1990) pp.19-20).

26 A.P.S., II, pp.334-36.

of this newly self-confident group.[27] Acting as court-poet, Lindsay could not help but reinforce the heightened lay character of court culture during the 1530s.

Humanism, particularly the insistence on a return *ad fontes*, was important not only to educational ideas but also to religious attitudes. By stressing the need for textual integrity, it provided the means of overcoming ignorance or mistaken teachings, restoring the pristine purity of the early Church and turning men to an active Christian life. In this way it represented the key to a form of human betterment both moral and spiritual. Humanism - particularly as developed in Northern Europe - became inextricably bound up with this idea of *Christianismus renascens*, very frequently being associated with a didactic, moral, often pious and evangelical, programme. Such concerns were enthusiastically taken up by the vernacular humanists who also advocated moral and spiritual rehabilitation and expressed similar humanistic sentiments with regard to the affairs of the Church. As has been noted, "In Scotland too the Renaissance was not merely a revival of learning, but a revival of moral concern."[28]

Given this background, what were the key features of Scottish humanism in the first half of the sixteenth century? Initially, it seems to have been primarily a literary, educational, religious and artistic phenomenon. Although there was some Greek study - and according to Lindsay some Hebrew also (The Monarche, 597) - Scottish humanism (strictly defined) was largely grounded in Latin thought and language.[29] Over and above this, a general concern for eloquence and

---

27 Poets such as Dunbar were fully capable of writing entirely secular pieces for the entertainment of the Court, while Lindsay's works, notably The Monarche but also such a court-based poem as The Testament of the Papyngo, possess an inescapably spiritual dimension.

28 Durkan, "The Beginnings of Humanism", p.17.

29 For a list of probable Greek scholars, see: W. Forbes Leith,

clarity had important implications for the vernacular promoting a new flexibility and vibrancy in Scottish writing.[30] The way in which Douglas, for example, explored and extended the possibilities of his native tongue has been well researched.[31] Lindsay too was affected by this sense of excitement and novelty. Several of the words he uses appear to have been neologisms coined by Douglas or Bellenden and a few are his own invention.[32] There was too, as we have seen, a growing enthusiasm for the business of vernacular translation and the development of rhetorical skills led to a new interest in such topics as poetry and history. An excellent example of this is Hector Boece's *Scotorum Historiae*, first published in Paris in 1526. Here the classical and national are blended together in a stirring account of Scotland's past designed to address the present and inspire the future.[33] This work also demonstrates the important didactic aspirations espoused by many humanists working outside strictly educational or religious fields. Concern for the affairs of Scotland and for the promotion of moral reformation was shared by the vernacular humanists: men such as Lindsay, who lacked Boece's humanist training and commitment to an elegant Latin style, but who nevertheless operated in the same intellectual and cultural milieu. Indeed, this type of humanist-inspired discussion nicely complemented the traditional

---

Pre-Reformation Scholars in Scotland in the XVIth Century (Glasgow, 1915) pp.7-10.

30 MacQueen, "Some Aspects of the Early Renaissance in Scotland", pp.215-16.

31 Bawcutt, Gavin Douglas, p.64, 145 & 158-62.

32 Examples of the former include, 'auditory' (helper) and 'bellical' (warlike). D.O.S.T. lists Lindsay as the only source for 'aurorall' (dawnlike), 'immundicitie' (uncleanliness), 'impurpurit' (empurpled) and 'quintarensours' (alchemists).

33 For example, the story of the Sabine women, thinly disguised, is transferred to Pictish Scotland (Bellenden, The Chronicles of Scotland, I, p.40).

conception of the relationship between the affairs of men and universal questions of ethics familiar to all Scots. The time-honoured articulation of the precepts of good government in terms of the moral qualities of the Prince, for example, perfectly suited the didactic thrust of Scottish humanism.

As already mentioned, humanism was a significant factor in the examination and discussion of the religious situation in sixteenth century Scotland, promoting an eagerness to eradicate abuses, to restore spirituality and to foster the active Christian life. As such, it contributed to the further destabilization of an already unstable religious situation. The first half of the sixteenth century was a period of some considerable religious uncertainty and although it is a serious mistake to view the Scottish Reformation as in any way straightforward or inevitable, the Church undoubtedly found its position threatened by a number of factors, political, economic and intellectual. Firstly, there was the Crown's need to formulate Church policy with reference to domestic - notably financial - concerns and to the requirements of European diplomacy; secondly, there existed a growing challenge to the Church's social position as patron and provider of, for example, charity, education and the Arts; thirdly, there was the challenge posed to the clergy's role of royal servant by a newly confident, articulate laity; and lastly, a new questioning of its status as sole interpreter of Christian doctrine posed the most serious threat of all. This last challenge was mounted not only by humanist scholarship but also by the emerging doctrines of the Protestant Reformation which, since the early 1520s, had been filtering into Scotland from the Continent. It was the combination and sometimes the conflation of these problems that was especially unsettling for the Church. Moreover, its vulnerability was exacerbated by the nagging fear that James might choose to follow the path taken by Henry VIII in

England. Providing as it did a haven - or even more dangerously an inspiration - for those with reforming-type views, the English Reformation made a substantial contribution to the destabilization of the Scottish political and religious scene. As the Duke of Norfolk reported to Thomas Cromwell in 1539:

> By divers other waies I am advertised that the clergie of Scotlande be in such feare that their king shold do theire, as the kinges highnes hath done in this realme, that they do their best to bring their Master to the warr; and by many waies I am advertised that a great part of the temporalitie there wold their shold followe our insample, which I pray God geve Hym grace to come vnto.[34]

As we shall see, Lindsay's work suggests that the 1530s were in some respects a period of intense religious debate. At a time when confessions of faith were far from clear cut and definitions of heresy and orthodoxy problematic, it is not surprising that this debate exhibited a wide range of opinion. Those involved included religious conservatives (a group not exclusively clerical in composition but nevertheless anxious to preserve the *status quo*), humanist critics of abuse and corruption and also out-and-out Lutherans. Those who were - to whatever extent - challenging the established position of the Church might usefully be referred to as 'evangelicals', a classification which can then be more accurately sub-divided into evangelical humanists and evangelical protestants. This religious debate was not simply concerned with airing differing opinions. Possessing a much more serious objective, it was geared towards winning the heart and mind of the King. Events in Europe, particularly in England, had demonstrated that for any reform programme to succeed, the co-operation of the secular authorities was vital. As we shall see, such a lesson was not lost on those Scottish evangelicals at Court in the 1530s.

---

34 S.P. Henry VIII, V, iv, p.154.

The evolution of distinct factions at Court operating along an ideological divide is, at best, hazy. However, it does seem that James, by his apparent openness to persuasion and his determination to balance different Court factions one against another, helped foster such a process. James's own religious attitude is somewhat ambivalent but, with an eye to his strengthening his financial base, he was happy to exploit the situation for his own ends.[35] As Buchanan was to observe:

> The different factions pointed out the riches of their opponents, as a booty ready for him when ever he chose: and he, by agreeing alternately with either kept both in a state of suspense between hope and fear.[36]

The tensions which existed at Court were, in all probability, much more overt than is apparent from surviving records, the 'open secret' which was political or religious unorthodoxy going largely unrecorded until highlighted by a particular incident. Evidence supporting this argument is, to some extent, coloured by the polarization of political opinion occasioned by the growing threat of war. However, the anxieties expressed during the last years of the reign serve simply to highlight a development which had been underway throughout the 1530s: that is, the gradual emergence of an influential group of royal servants and officials who, in a variety of ways, posed a challenge to the *status quo*. It would be wrong to view this group as a 'party'; it lacked an identity, sense of coherence or of unified purpose and it embraced a wide range of evangelical opinion, not all of it complementary. Political and religious policy was challenged on a variety of fronts and amongst the ideas in circulation we find support for peace with England and closer political links, internal

---

35 For James's attitude to the Church, see Chapter Seven.

36 Buchanan, History of Scotland, II, p.259.

ecclesiastical reform, the secularization of government, antipapal revolution and the introduction of protestant doctrine and practices.

It is not to be expected that the Church was insensible to the challenges it faced. Arguably, the most effective action it could take was against those laymen suspected of heretical sympathies. Thus, even before 1539 and his elevation to the metropolitan see of St Andrews, David Beaton began the vigorous prosecution of suspected heretics. However, as Sanderson has demonstrated, circumstances rendered him unable to follow this up and largely limited him to the prosecution of the relatively humble.[37] As she comments, it must have been a source of extreme personal frustration "that he rubbed shoulders daily at the royal court and in the law courts with those whose favour with the king and their public office made it difficult to accuse...but whose presence in public life gave Protestantism a measure of *de facto* acceptability".[38] Whether the term 'Protestantism' is valid here given the heterogeneous nature of the group in question is debatable. Lindsay for one, although a vigorous critic of the Church, was never a confessed Protestant. Nevertheless, this identification of the tensions which existed during the 1530s appears to be largely accurate. Such men as would have enraged Beaton included James Kirkcaldy of Grange, Henry Balnaves, Thomas Bellenden, John Borthwick and James Learmonth of Dairsie. Kirkcaldy of Grange, known to Lindsay on account both of his Fife origins and the fact of his position as Treasurer, was reputed to have "becom ane heretik and [to have] had alwayes a New Testament in his poutch".[39] Also from Fife was James Learmonth of Dairsie, the Master of the Household. He too was believed to have been

---

37 Sanderson, Cardinal of Scotland, p.89.

38 Ibid., p.87.

39 Sir James Melville's Memoirs (Bannatyne Club, 1827) p.65.

a heretic and also something of an Anglophile.[40] In the early 1540s, his eagerness to patch up relations with England prompted Henry VIII to say of him: "we have as good an opinion of him as ever we conceyved of any man that cam furth of Scotlande".[41] In addition, this group comprised a number of legally trained men whose involvement in the administration provides a further example of the laicization of government occurring during the 1530s. Such a man was Henry Balnaves who earlier in his career had been employed by Beaton as procurator and spokesman in the consistorial courts. Balnaves was appointed Treasurer's Clerk by Kirkcaldy of Grange and in November 1537 became an advocate of the Court of Session prior to his appointment as a Lord of Session the following year. Balnaves continued to prosper and in November 1538 he was created Lord Halhill, receiving the estate of Halhill near Collessie, Fife, the following year.[42] In later years, he would be a prominent Protestant and there is reason to believe that Balnaves was sympathetic to the Reformed religion even before the 1540s, being one of the principal players in a significant episode indicative of the on-going struggle for the King's ear. In January 1540, the English commissioner on the Border, William Eure, reported to Cromwell the results of "diuers communings" between himself on the one hand and Balnaves and Thomas Bellenden on the other, "especially touching the stay of the spiritualitie in Scotland". It is clear from Eure's report that he was in touch with a group of men sympathetic to England and in particular to the type of religious settlement established there during the 1530s. Bellenden, also a lawyer (he was

---

40 Calderwood, History of the Kirk of Scotland, 8 vols, (Wodrow Society 1842-49) I, p.140.

41 Hamilton Papers, I, p.275.

42 F. J. Grant, The Faculty of Advocates in Scotland, 1532-1943 (S.R.S., 1944) p.10.

created Director of Chancery in 1538 and Justice Clerk the following year), was described by Eure as a man "of gentle and sage conversation...inclyned to the soorte [of religion] used in our Soverain's Realme of England".[43] In support of this, Eure described how Bellenden had requested abstracts of acts, constitutions and proclamations passed in England "touching the supression of religion, and gathering unto the kinges majestie suche other proffettes as before haithe been sp___, with the reformation of the mysdemeanors of the clergye".[44] These he required for the enlightenment of the King of Scots. Clearly Bellenden was keen to persuade James to adopt a religious policy in line with that followed in England, that is a Cromwellian-type solution based on the establishment of a royal supremacy through parliamentary legislation. Although Bellenden presented Eure with an overly optimistic assessment of James's enthusiasm for reform, the episode does demonstrate Scottish interest in the issue. Significantly, in attempting to emphasize this interest, Bellenden referred to a vehemently anti-clerical interlude performed before James and Mary at Linlithgow as part of the Epiphany celebrations and, indeed, entries in the Treasurer's Accounts support his contention that a play was in fact performed at this time.[45] Unfortunately, Bellenden's words do not make clear whether this work was commissioned by the Crown or whether it represents an evangelical initiative of which he was a part. According to Bellenden, "thay" had it staged, which, although ambiguous, has been taken to refer to the King and Council.[46] While there is no real evidence to support this,

43 Ibid., p.13.

44 S.P. Henry VIII, V, iv, pp.169-70. Reprinted, Hamer, Works, II, pp.2-6.

45 T.A., V, pp.276-77.

46 Greg Walker, "Sir David Lindsay's *Satire of the Thrie Estatis* and the Politics of the Reformation", S.L.J., XVI, (1989) pp.6-9.

surely Bellenden and his associates had grounds for thinking that their entertainment would find favour in James's eyes. With regard to the extent of royal interest in the play's composition, it is interesting to note Buchanan's insistence that his anticlerical poem, *Franciscanus*, was written at the instigation of the King.[47] Yet, the details of Buchanan's quarrel with the Franciscans are obscure and James's status as patron of anticlerical literature remains unproven. Indeed, nothing is known of the Epiphany performance bar Eure's notes of the play, obtained significantly enough from "a scotts man of oure sorte", but these describe a drama sufficiently similar to Lindsay's Ane Satyre of the Thrie Estatis as known from the texts of 1568 and 1602 for it to have been taken as his work. There are many differences between the two but the fact that the Interlude introduces similar characters and presents (as Lindsay does) a humanistic critique of the Church allied with a potentially potent political suggestion for reform, has meant that his authorship of the work has never been seriously challenged.[48] Even if the provenance of the play must remain dubious, the fact of its performance suggests that the Court was an important forum for the discussion of religious issues. Several of Lindsay's other works (notably The Testament of the Papyngo) operate on a similar level and while we can not prove Lindsay's association with the play and thus by extension with Balnaves and Bellenden, it does seem that this was the case. Moreover, as we shall see, both men were, like Lindsay himself, victims of a conservative backlash in 1543 and it does not seem

---

47 McFarlane, Buchanan, pp.53-54.

48 For a further discussion of this, see: Joanne Spencer Kantrowitz, Dramatic Allegory; Lindsay's Satyre of the Thrie Estatis (Lincoln, Nebraska, 1975) pp.11-22. This is not to suggest that the Epiphany performance was an early performance of Ane Satyre or even a prototype version. The two seem sufficiently distinct for them to be reckoned as separate works.

unreasonable to suppose that the evangelical connection between the three originated in the previous decade.

The fact that those lesser laymen associated with an evangelical outlook held positions at Court and in the administration seems to have been due in part to the encouragement of the Crown, although whether James consciously and quite deliberately sought to exclude the nobility from government as some historians affirm is debatable.[49] As has been pointed out, the sources deal almost exclusively with the judicial business of Council and consequently provide what is probably a misleading view of magnate involvement in government as a whole.[50] Certainly, the aristocracy regularly attended parliament and were involved in major events of the reign such as the marriage expedition of 1536-37. A preliminary analysis of the 'establishment' in the latter half of the fifteenth century has noted a similar apparent lack of magnate involvement paralleled by the growing importance of "men of affairs" - laymen and clerics who served as councillors and lawyers.[51] Here too though the sources may provide a distorted picture and it has been suggested that what we are seeing is, in fact, not one but several 'establishments', occasionally overlapping but often operating on different levels. Such an interpretation seems equally valid for the 1530s. While James V, like his predecessors, could turn his royal wrath upon individual magnates, the nobility continued to perform its traditional function in the localities and, if so minded, exerted an influence at Court. However, on another level, it does seem as if the

---

49 For example: 'it remains a significant fact that James did not love the nobility but relied on lesser men' (Donaldson, James V - James VII, p.55). For a similar comment, see: J. Wormald, Court, Kirk and Community (London, 1981) p.12.

50 Donaldson, James V - James VII, p.55.

51 A. L. Brown, "The Scottish Establishment in the Later Fifteenth Century", Juridical Review, 23, (1978) pp.89-105.

loci of influence at Court lay with the prelates on the one hand and the lesser laity who acted as royal officials on the other. A suggestive description of this latter group, a group heavily dependent upon royal patronage, is provided by Sir William Eure writing to Henry VIII in July 1541:

> The spiritualitie and the grete lordes of Scotlande, the Bordourers, and the Out Isles, is desirous to have werre, [with England] but the kinges grace and his privy counsaile, as the treasourer [Kirkcaldy of Grange] and countroller, [David Wood of Craig, generally accounted a supporter of Cardinal Beaton - this is probably a mistake on Eure's part] and *suche as are aboute hym self of his oune making*, is desirous to have peax".[52]

Further evidence for this is provided by Sir Ralph Sadler, the English ambassador, who visited Edinburgh only a month after the Linlithgow performance with instructions to discredit Beaton and to persuade James of the benefits of a Henrician approach towards the religious houses (an aim which echoed that of the Interlude which claimed that the Crown, both by canon and civil law, might appropriate the Church's temporal lands).[53] Describing his visit for Cromwell, Sadler related that he was well entertained and welcomed by most of the noblemen and gentlemen, favourers of Christ's doctrine, "whereof be a great number, but the noblemen be young".[54] Although Sadler considered them and others of the Council about the King well minded, he saw no potential leader "to take in hand the direction of things" and concluded that James was forced to rely upon churchmen (a process encouraged by a clergy indulging the King in self-centred pleasure). Sadler lamented the absence of a figure such as his own master, able to serve James V as Cromwell served Henry VIII. In terms calculated to flatter Cromwell but perhaps also truly indicative of the situation at

---

52 Hamilton Papers, I, p.83; rept. L.& P. Henry VIII, XVI, no.990. (My italics.)

53 For Sadler's Instructions, see: Sadler, Papers, I, pp.3-13.

54 L.& P. Henry VIII, XV, no.249 & Sadler, Papers, I, pp.46-49, p.47.

the Scottish Court, he expressed the wish that the King of Scots possessed "one such servant and counsellor", continuing, "and, I dare say, so would many thousands in Scotland, for some of the honest men of the Court here and well esteemed, have wished the same before me since my coming hither". Significantly, those of the Court with whom Sadler had spent some considerable time between his arrival and the despatch of this particular communication included Sir John Borthwick and David Lindsay. Responsible for conducting the English ambassador into James's presence, they also dined with him on at least one occasion.[55] It is tempting to suggest, therefore, that Lindsay was one of those "well esteemed" men advocating an evangelical reform programme. In short, Sadler's observations nicely illustrate a real, yet ill-defined, element of disaffection at the Scottish Court. Observing that the conservative faction "is yet too strong for the other side", Sadler opined that the evangelicals lacked the guidance of mature nobility but depended instead upon the influential lesser laity, a comment which confirms the suggestion that such men exercised an important influence at Court.

Sir John Borthwick, associated with Lindsay in the entertainment of Ralph Sadler, was one of those evangelicals apparently protected by the King. Borthwick, who had spent part of his early career in France and had made Lutheran contacts in Paris, held Reforming views from at least the mid-1530s.[56] He was in London in 1536 and corresponded with Cromwell, penning a particularly venomous attack on Pope Paul III's gift of a cap and sword to James V in 1534.[57] Borthwick seems to have

---

55 L.& P. Henry VIII, XV, no.248 & Sadler, Papers, I, pp.17-45. esp. p.19, 22 & 40.

56 For more information on Borthwick, see: J. Durkan, "Scottish Evangelicals in the Patronage of Thomas Cromwell", R.S.C.H.S., 21, (1983) pp.127-57. Borthwick's views and their relationship to Lindsay's are discussed more fully in Chapter Seven.

57 L.&.P. Henry VIII, XII, i, no.496.

been concerned chiefly with the practical and political implications of Protestantism rather than with theological subtleties. Representative of the potentially explosive alliance of Protestantism and politics, he was the chosen focus of a more overt attack upon the suspected heretics at Court launched by Beaton in the Spring of 1540 only a few months after the Evangelicals had - quite literally - seized centre stage with the production of the Epiphany Interlude. However, with suspicious good fortune, Borthwick escaped arrest and fled to England. He was tried *in absentia* and, being convicted of the charges against him, his effigy was burnt in the Market Place at St Andrews. One modern commentator considers that this showy yet ultimately farcical episode "has the look of being stage-managed by the Cardinal as a warning to Lutherans in high places and by the King in order to let David Beaton have his own way without doing any real damage".[58] James was, of course, obliged to maintain at least the show of enthusiasm for the extirpation of heresy in order to convince the Pope of his good faith. But he appears to have had little real enthusiasm for the task, preferring instead to retain around him a group of men of questionable orthodoxy whose very presence acted as a brake on clerical ambition. With regard to the eradication of this group, Beaton would have to be content (during James's reign at least) with the mock trial of John Borthwick. He may, however, have attempted more decisive action, producing a list of suspected heretics and hinting that their prosecution could result in financial gains for the Crown. The show-trial may, therefore, represent a concession granted by the King in the face of such action.[59] Certainly, no further measures were taken.

---

58 Sanderson, Cardinal of Scotland, p.91.

59 Knox refers to such a list which, he claims, encompassed heretics, favourers of England and friends of the Douglases, (D. Laing, ed., The Works of John Knox, 6 vols, (Wodrow Society, 1846-64) I, pp.81-82). This is backed up by a letter of March 1543, in which

That this was so has been attributed to the intervention of Kirkcaldy of Grange who, according to John Knox, dissuaded James from heeding the list.[60]

Competition for the ear of the King is further illustrated by another episode possibly also connected with the 'Black List'. Pitscottie describes how the clergy requested that a temporal judge be appointed for the prosecution of heretics (such as those accused in the list). The man who, "for plesour of the bischopis and kirkmen...tuik in hand to be iudge criminall, and burne all them that war the servandis of god, and red the new testament", was Sir James Hamilton of Finnart who served as Master of Works and enjoyed royal favour throughout the reign.[61] However, if it were the case that he was so appointed (and he does seem to have received a sheriffship - possibly for this reason), he never initiated such a purge and, on 16 August 1540, he was executed.[62] Ostensibly his crime was plotting against the King and communing with the Douglases and, while it may be true that James was eager to lay hands on Finnart's not inconsiderable wealth, the latter's downfall was only made possible - if not actually engineered - by the tensions at Court.[63] Significantly, it was the son of Sir James Hamilton of Kincavil who was sent by his father to warn the King of the supposed plot against the latter's life. In 1532, Kincavil, the half-brother of the martyr Patrick Hamilton, had been delated for heresy. He subsequently abjured but fresh charges laid

---

Sadler details a conversation with Arran who reportedly confirmed the existence of such a list (Sadler, Papers, I, p.94.)

60 Knox, Works, I, p.82.

61 Pitscottie, Chronicles, I, p.392.

62 Sanderson, Cardinal of Scotland, p.149.

63 The episode was also described by Buchanan in this religious/factional context (History of Scotland, II, p.260).

against him in 1534 provoked his flight to England (where he seems to have obtained the support of Cromwell and Cranmer).[64] Repeated petitioning secured a return to royal favour and to Scotland but by 1540 his position seems once again to have been one of insecurity - hence the pre-emptive strike against Finnart. Upon hearing the accusations laid against his erstwhile favourite, James instructed Hamilton's son to present his information to the Secretary (Thomas Erskine) and Master of the Household (James Learmonth). This being done they, together with the Treasurer (James Kirkcaldy), imprisoned Finnart. However, fearful lest their prisoner's petitioning might successfully sway the King, they undertook his vigorous denunciation thereby securing his execution.[65]

The actions of Kincavil, Learmonth and Kirkcaldy probably reflect the need they felt to protect their own positions; indeed, to ensure their very survival. It is perhaps significant that, according to Pitscottie, Lindsay too was involved in this episode, as when the three went to arrest Finnart, they "tuik with them the lyoun herald".[66] As we saw in Chapter Two, officers of arms were involved in issuing summons against traitors and hence Lindsay may have been acting in a semi-official capacity on this occasion. Nevertheless, calling on the services of the acting Lyon King seems somewhat excessive and hard to explain were it not for the fact that his presence at this sensitive juncture in the fortunes of the Evangelical group was considered a prudent move. This is not necessarily to equate Lindsay with the Protestantism of, for example Kirkcaldy of Grange, for the group was, as we have seen, essentially a coalition of various diverse interests

64 L.&.P. Henry VIII, XI, no.248. For more information on Hamilton of Kincavil, see: Durkan, "Scottish Evangelicals", p.133.

65 Pitscottie, Chronicles, I, pp.387-93.

66 Ibid., I, p.392.

rather than the vehicle for the expression and furtherance of any one position. Certainly, however, Lindsay by this time would be well known as a caustic critic of the Church. Yet unlike Borthwick, Lindsay escaped official action. Indeed, 1540 appears to have been a particularly good year for him and in June, Balnaves, the Treasurer's Clerk, assigned Lindsay and his wife one thousand merks owed to the King by Sir Walter Lundy.[67] Sadly, the reasons behind this substantial windfall are unknown. It may represent payment of a debt, it may relate to some specific service, or it may be a gift made by Lindsay's old charge to mark the birth of his own son and heir.[68] Whatever the explanation, it provides incontrovertible proof that Lindsay continued to enjoy royal favour and it was presumably this payment which enabled the purchase of Ovir-Prates in Fife from Lundy.[69]

A further example of the way in which the initiative at Court was grasped by the evangelicals on the one hand and the conservatives on the other may be seen in the fluctuating fortune of Erasmus's reputation. Despite early royal patronage and the emergence of what has been tentatively labelled an "Erasmian party", it is wrong to assume that Erasmian ideas were universally accepted at Court. The opposition which sounded throughout Europe was also heard within Scotland. Two Scots, George Lokert and John Mair, were amongst those involved in the examination of Erasmus's works when they were attacked by the Sorbonne in 1527 and Mair's return from Paris to St Andrews in 1530 may have encouraged a hardening of opinion. Certainly, it was one of Mair's colleagues who was responsible for presenting the anti-Erasmian writing of Nicholas Ferber, the general in charge of the

67 A.D.C.P., p.488 & T.A. VIII, p.315.

68 Prince James was born in May 1540. (I am grateful to Dr Norman Macdougall for this suggestion.)

69 R.M.S., III, no.2529.

Observant Franciscans in the North, to the Scots Franciscans.[70] This growth of opposition was not confined to the universities. It was also felt at Court. In 1534, Cochlaeus, the Catholic controversialist, found that while his own works were clearly appreciated, those of Erasmus were not, for "although the king replied graciously to Erasmus, the bishops and monks do not like his books but reject them as suspect".[71] The growing suspicion in which Erasmianism was held is tellingly illustrated by the publication of John Bellenden's translation of Boece's *Scotorum Historiae*. In Davidson's edition, the quotation from Erasmus included in the preface dedicatory to the King and so prominent in the author's own manuscript version, was accorded a far less conspicuous place on the printed page.[72] Buchanan's flight from the Scottish Court in 1539 (the year before Borthwick was obliged - and allowed - to adopt a similar course) was probably also connected with his support of an evangelical position, a support which particularly angered the Observants, Buchanan's criticism of whom in his poem *Somnium* echoed similar attacks made by Erasmus.[73] This anti-Erasmian trend gathered force throughout the decade and by 1540, during Borthwick's trial, Erasmus's Paraphrases were deemed to constitute heretical literature. While Lindsay was clearly of the Evangelical group and articulated many Erasmian ideas (especially concerning the Church and education), there is only one direct citation of the Dutch humanist in the corpus of his work.[74] The reference is obscure and occurs in his 1554 composition, The Monarche (6252). Whether this

70 Durkan, "The Beginnings of Humanism", pp.9-10.

71 Ibid., p.10.

72 Ibid., p.10, note 29.

73 For a fuller examination of this poem, see: McFarlane, Buchanan, pp.66-77.

74 For a discussion of possible sources, see: Hamer, Works, III, p.481.

should be seen as a bold declaration of Lindsay's own intellectual sympathies or perhaps a deliberate attempt to taunt the ecclesiastical authorities is not, therefore, altogether clear. It would, however, be a mistake to view growing suspicion of Erasmian humanism simply as a manifestation of anti-heresy enthusiasm. Many sympathetic to humanism - like Erasmus himself - maintained an entirely orthodox Catholicism. Nevertheless, others (for example, John Borthwick) do appear to have combined their humanism with the tenets of the Reformed religion and to have shifted from the position of evangelical humanist to evangelical Protestant.

The 'swings and roundabouts' nature of the 1530s continued into the early years of the following decade. At the beginning of 1540, James defended Beaton from Sadler's insinuations, by October rumour had it that the Cardinal had fallen from favour.[75] Then, the tide turned yet again and by March 1541 the clerical party was sufficiently strong to ensure the passage through Parliament of anti-heresy legislation.[76] Sanderson judges this legislation "a comment on the increase in the level of heretical activity since the act of 1525", but it seems that heretical activity on a popular level was still relatively thin-spread and it is surely more accurate to view it as Beaton's attempt to grasp the political initiative.[77] Indeed, the acts forbidding abjured heretics to hold office or "to be of our counsalle", imposing penalties for the sheltering of heretics and offering rewards as an incentive to inform seem specifically targeted at the type of influential Reformer found at Court.

---

75 Hamilton Papers, I, p.60.

76 A.P.S., II, p.370-71.

77 Sanderson, Cardinal of Scotland, p.149

An already difficult situation was further complicated by the English factor and the breakdown in Anglo-Scottish relations which occurred at the close of James's reign. Franco-imperial unity combined with Papal rumblings against the schismatic Henry VIII seriously alarmed the English government. This, together with the fact that his disaffected subjects were finding refuge in Scotland, persuaded Henry of the need to cultivate the friendship of his nephew and the idea of a personal meeting between the two monarchs - first broached in 1536 - was revived.[78] However, this became a matter of fierce political debate underscored by ideological considerations. Whether James should meet Henry was a highly contentious and complex issue, not merely the case, as one English commentator had it, that "their kirkmen will not agree thereunto".[79] (Although it should be noted that Lindsay used this simplistic interpretation for poetic effect in The Tragedie of the Cardinal where he describes how the plan was sabotaged by Beaton and the prelates, 99-105.) However, a more detailed description of the division of opinion is provided by Wharton who, in September 1542, informed the English Privy Council:

> There are sundry argumentes amongest his [James V's] councell about this affare. And of the Councell Oliver Synkler, _____ Synkler, brether and the Larde of Crage husher of the chambre, ar of the Cardinall and bushoppes sect and oppynion, that there kynge shulde not comme in Ingland; and there er of the other sect and oppynyon the Larde of Grange treasourer, Maister Thomas Bellynden, and Maister Henry Banese a man of lawe, and as myn espiall saith many of the barons of that side.[80]

Obviously those named here were motivated in their desire for friendship with England by religious considerations. However, Anglophile sympathies were not necessarily determined by religious considerations. This is illustrated by the case of the humanist Adam

78 L.& P. Henry VIII, XV, no.248.

79 Hamilton Papers, I, p.217.

80 Ibid., I, p.100.

Otterburn. In 1534, Otterburn had written to Thomas Cromwell: "howbeit we can nocht agre in the opinionis concerning the authoritie of the Paip and kirkmen, nochtheles I knaw perfytte that the kingis Hienes my Souerane will keip his kyndness and trety of peax".[81] This diplomatic expression of friendship was designed to reinforce the recently negotiated peace treaty between the two nations but, significantly, Otterburn went on to add: "And as to my part, I shall never fail, safar as my wit and industre may extend, to avance and mantene luff amite and peax betuix the twa Princis". Otterburn had been in London the previous year and he obviously convinced Cromwell of his sincerity for a few years later the latter promised to treat Otterburn as if "ye war [his] naturall broder".[82] However, in September 1538 (just a few months after collaborating with Lindsay and Foulis on the pageantry for Mary of Guise), Otterburn was stripped of the office of King's Advocate and subsequently imprisoned. He was later pardoned on payment of a fee of £2000.[83] Otterburn was charged with communing with the Douglases, a charge for which there appear some grounds as in 1536 Angus wrote to his brother begging him to speak to Otterburn on his behalf.[84] Otterburn himself, however, believed that "suche trouble as he had...was bicause he was suspected to be over good an Englishe man".[85] Whatever the truth of the case, Otterburn learnt his lesson and in the years following the King's death was a staunch supporter of Beaton and later of Mary of Guise. This did not, however, represent simple political opportunism, for English ambition and the threat to Scottish

81 S.P. Henry VIII, V, iv, p.14.

82 Ibid., V, iv, p.21.

83 Ibid., V, iv, pp.158-60.

84 William Fraser, The Douglas Book, 4 vols, (Edinburgh, 1885) IV, no.128.

85 Hamilton Papers, II, p.106, Sadler, Papers, I, p.316.

independence posed by the Treaty of Greenwich genuinely horrified the patriotic Otterburn. Imprisoned at the same time as Otterburn was Sir John Chisholm, another who was in contact with Cromwell during the 1530s. When Lord William Howard delivered the Order of the Garter to James in 1535, Otterburn asked him to pay special attention to Chisholm "quhilk hes sustenit oftymes scaith and dammage for his gude kyndnes schewing to Inglisemen."[86] Indeed, this was not the first occasion on which Otterburn had made such a request concerning his friend.[87] It is difficult to assess the extent of such pro-English sentiment, but that it existed - at least in pockets - is clear. However, as Otterburn proves, it could exist along with a variety of other attitudes and it can not be simply equated with Protestantism.

Ultimately, those who looked sympathetically towards England lost the day. James failed to meet Henry VIII at York and relations between the two countries became increasingly strained. The breakdown of the negotiations led to the appearance of an English army in the borders and, despite the defeat of an English force at Haddon Rig in August 1542, Henry prepared for invasion. In November 1542, James V, Beaton and Moray advanced on the Western March. James thereafter made his way to Lochmaben intending to proceed across the Solway sands while a second force under Oliver Sinclair advanced on Langholm. The plan came to nought; Sinclair encountered Wharton near the Esk and his army was ignominiously routed at Solway Moss on 24 November.[88]

According to Lindsay, and indeed to many commentators since, the defeat at Solway Moss (where large numbers of Scots were captured by the English) engendered a melancholy in James which led directly to his

---

86 S. P. Henry VIII, V, iv, p.21.

87 L.& P. Henry VIII, VIII, no.333.

88 Donaldson, James V - James VII, pp.59-60.

death on 15 December 1542 (The Tragedie of the Cardinal, 113-19). For Lindsay, this was a serious blow. James had been a feature of the poet's life for thirty years and his premature death brought to an end a close personal relationship. Moreover, at a time when Lindsay seems to have been prospering and ordering his affairs to his personal satisfaction, he was faced yet again with the prospect of a lengthy minority government, a situation which could, as past experience had taught, jeopardize all he had achieved.[89]

> Quhen I beleif to be best easit,
> Most suddantlye I am displiasit;
> (The Monarche, 342-43)

The sense of unpredictability associated with political life is a recurrent theme in Lindsay's work and lines such as these were clearly inspired by personal experience. Moreover, it was probably around this time that Lindsay had to face the death of his wife and perhaps too that of his younger brother, John.[90] Such personal misfortune intensified Lindsay's world weariness, prompting the gloomy introspection which surfaces in his later works. However, despite the inauspicious end to James's reign, the evangelicals must have felt that there were yet grounds for optimism. Unfortunately for Lindsay, the months which followed would offer him no more than the briefest glimpse of how some of his most cherished hopes might be realized.

---

89 R.M.S., III, nos. 2529 & 2748. The second charter drawn up in August 1542, describing in much greater detail the arrangements for the inheritance of his estates suggests that Lindsay, acknowledging he would die childless, was concerned to tidy up his affairs.

90 The charter of 1542 (R.M.S., III, no.278) is the last recorded appearance of both Janet Douglas and John Lindsay. Quite when each died is not clear but both were certainly dead by 1555 when Janet is referred to as deceased (ibid., IV, no.1006) and the Mount is inherited by Alexander Lindsay (Appendix Two).

II

James V's unexpected death found Scotland ill-prepared for such an event. He left behind him a baby daughter barely a week old and no arrangements for a minority government. The best constitutional claim to regency authority lay with the Earl of Arran, heir presumptive to the throne. Arran, however, was notoriously unreliable and it was soon obvious that as a figure head he could be manipulated by which ever faction successfully assumed control. This encouraged a struggle for authority the details of which are shrouded in obscurity.[91] It seems that by 18 December common belief held that power was to lie with four governors - the principal magnates Arran, Moray, Argyll and Huntly - together with the Cardinal (somewhat discredited following the war) acting as "governor of the princes and chief ruler of the Council".[92] However, it was not long before Arran and Beaton were at loggerheads, with the former claiming that the Cardinal "hathe tolde to the counsaill many thinges in the kinges name, which he thinketh ys all lyes and so wyll prove".[93] By the beginning of the year, Arran had succeeded in having himself proclaimed sole governor with Beaton becoming Chancellor shortly afterwards. The explanation for this turn of affairs remains unclear. It has been suggested that the situation was engineered by Beaton who, by bringing some extraordinary pressure to bear upon Arran, arranged the compromise. This pressure could conceivably have been the threat posed by Arran's dubious legitimacy, an issue which Beaton, by virtue of his ecclesiastical office, could investigate with a view to debarring Arran from the succession and hence from his premier claim to the regency. However, this was not a

---

91 See: Sanderson, Cardinal of Scotland, pp.153-57 & Andrew Lang, "The Cardinal and the King's Will", S.H.R., III, (1906) pp.410-22.

92 Hamilton Papers, I, p.260.

93 Ibid., I, pp.347-48.

new threat and it is unlikely that it held any serious terror for the Earl. More significant would have been a will drawn up by the late King which laid out arrangements for his daughter's minority and which excluded Arran. A notarial instrument purporting to be just such a document does exist and it may be that Beaton, acknowledging the fact of Arran's assumed power yet conscious of his malleability, exchanged it for the Great Seal.[94] However, this did not prevent Arran from feeling sufficiently powerful, once he had the document in his hands, to order Beaton's imprisonment. The story of the notarial instrument is given added weight by the fact that Arran felt it necessary to protect himself by circulating the story that "The Cardinal did counterfeit the late king's testament; and when the king was even almost dead he took his hand and so caused him to suscribe a blank paper".[95] Most modern commentators note the persistence of this story, ascribing its acceptance to Knox, but it was in fact Lindsay who, as early as 1547 (but, nonetheless, after the Cardinal's death), first set forth the allegation in print (The Tragedie of the Cardinal, 120-23). Lindsay's repetition of the rumour reveals either its currency at Court or else his own position at the heart of affairs. In any case, it is likely that in the uncertain and potentially dangerous days following James V's death, Lindsay - like many around him - had his ear close to the ground. That he was in a position to accomplish this owed much to the fact that as Lyon King he was responsible for the organization of the royal funeral and, consequently, remained very much at the centre of affairs.[96]

---

94 Hist. MSS. Comm. 11th Report, Appendix, Part IV, (London, 1887) pp.119-20.

95 Sadler, Papers, I, p.138.

96 T.A., VIII, p.143 & 138. See too Chapter Five.

Following Arran's assumption of authority shortly before the funeral, it seemed as if the way was open for the implementation of a more pro-Reform, anglophile policy. Arran evidently considered this the best way of furthering his own dynastic interests, but it was also encouraged by two other factors, the return of the Earl of Angus and his brother, George Douglas, from exile in England and the activities of the so-called 'Assured Lords'.[97] Already before James's death, it had been apparent that some of those taken captive at Solway Moss were likely to be used in the English interest, being released on the condition that they undertook to further a proposed marriage between the infant Queen of Scots and the young Edward Tudor. Moreover, ten of them, including Cassillis, Glencairn, Maxwell, Fleming, Somerville and Gray, undertook to aid Henry VIII in asserting English sovereignty over Scotland in the event of Mary's death.[98] Against this background and with the Cardinal imprisoned, the way was clear for the parliament of March 1543 to ratify Arran's governorship, to reverse the attainder on the Douglases and to authorize the reading of Scripture "in the vulgar toung in Inglis or Scottis...Provyding that na man alwayis despute or hald oppunyionis under the panis contenit in the actes of parliament".[99] That such a policy could be adopted so swiftly after James's death is a comment on the progress of evangelical opinion at Court in the previous decade. As is suggested by the important qualification designed to curb any potential heresies, this probably owed more to evangelical humanists than to confessed Protestants, or at least those Protestants prominent in the new administration felt obliged to adopt the more moderate, humanist-inspired, line. The bill,

97 According to Lindsay, the now 'nobyll Erle of Angous' was brought back by Arran (The Tragedie of the Cardinal, 133).

98 L.& P. Henry VIII, XVIII, i, no.22.

99 A.P.S., II, p.415.

introduced by Maxwell and promoted by Balnaves (Secretary of State under Arran), was enacted despite the opposition of the clerical estate whose outrage was voiced by Gavin Dunbar, Archbishop of Glasgow. This parliament, described by George Douglas as "the maist substanciall Parliament, that evir was sene in Scotland in ony mannis rememberance", and which Lindsay almost certainly attended, was enormously important for him.[100] It represented the implementation of one of his most vigorously urged reforming ideals suggesting the way in which a Henrician-type reformation could be enacted within Scotland. The idea of the secular authority working through the estates (yet overriding the clergy) had received dramatic representation in the Epiphany Interlude and was to find powerful expression in Ane Satyre of the Thrie Estatis.

Lindsay swiftly became associated with the new administration serving under Arran. In March 1543, the Earl requested credence for Lindsay to travel to England in order to return the Order of the Garter bestowed upon the late King.[101] However, it seems likely that his departure was deferred for some weeks - possibly in order that he might attend Parliament. Thus on 23 April, Lindsay's name is listed amongst those due to receive a St George's day payment at Windsor. However, the fact that no payment was actually made suggests that Lindsay, although expected, did not attend the ceremony.[102] It may be, therefore, that he eventually travelled south with the Scottish

---

100 S.P. Henry VIII, IV, pp.262-65. For a discussion of Lindsay's attendance at parliaments, see: Hamer, Works, IV, pp.285-88. With regard to 1543, Hamer writes, 'Certainly at this parliament as at others, there was a 'Dauid Lindsay *pro cupro*'. This may or may not have been the poet but, as Lyon King he would have had an *ex -officio* seat, sitting at the foot of the throne in personal attendance' (p.287).

101 L.& P. Henry VIII, XVIII, i, p.37.

102 Hamer, Works, IV, p.269.

commissioners - Learmonth, Balnaves and Hamilton of Sanquhar - despatched to undertake negotiations for the marriage of Mary and Edward.[103] That Lindsay did make the journey is evidenced by a letter from Henry VIII to Arran in which the former takes pains to praise the Lyon King who "vsed himself right Discretelye and much to our contentacioun".[104] Of course, as chief heraldic officer, it was Lindsay's duty to return the insignia of his late master, but it was perhaps significant that Arran chose to despatch Lindsay south at this time. Indeed, the alacrity with which the Garter was returned is in marked contrast to the return of the Golden Fleece, not sent until after April 1544 and then delivered not by the Lyon King but by Snowdon Herald. In the Spring of 1543, Arran was especially eager to foster English goodwill and he would not have risked jeopardizing his plans by allowing anyone with anglophobic views access to the English King and Court. On the contrary, he would have been anxious that the mission should represent a further plank of a diplomacy designed to shore up the proposed marriage alliance. (Hence, the choice of Balnaves and Learmonth as ambassadors and too the conservative opposition to such a choice.) Judging by Henry's account, it seems as if Arran was not disappointed when he selected Lindsay for this mission.

The foundations of the new government were, however, far from stable. Arran, his natural inconstancy compounded by a determination not to see Hamilton interests threatened, was somewhat ambivalent in his commitment to religious reform. Certainly, it was not such as to satisfy the more radical Lutherans at Court. Moreover, Beaton soon engineered his removal to St Andrews Castle thus paving the way for the

---

103 S.P. Henry VIII, IV, p.270; Sadler, Papers, I, p.63.

104 Hamer, Works, IV, p.269. (Abstract in L.& P. Henry VIII, XVIII, i, no.591.)

recovery of his liberty and independence of action.[105] Beaton seems to have had a number of supporters in addition to the episcopate including the Earls of Argyll, Moray, Huntly and Bothwell. They demanded not only that he be released but also that different ambassadors be sent to London, "that the New Testament shuld not go abroide" and that the Governor should use their counsel.[106] Additionally, during the period of Beaton's captivity, all ecclesiastical offices were withdrawn by the clergy of the archdiocese of St Andrews, a measure which did much to foster popular support for the Cardinal.[107] Nevertheless, religious considerations alone do not explain the widespread opposition to the proposed Anglo-Scottish marriage alliance and misgivings also arose from genuine and profound suspicion of English intentions. This can be seen in the case of Adam Otterburn who now abandoned the pro-English sentiments he had professed earlier in his career. Sadler, recalling a conversation with Otterburn, remembered how the latter pointed to the potential dangers of a situation in which England had the "lad" and Scotland the "lass", adding:

> Our nacyon, being a stout nacyon, will never agree to have an Englishman to be a King of Scotland. And though the hole nobilitie of the realme wolde consent unto it, yet our comen people and the stones in the strete wolde ryse and rebelle agenst it.[108]

Similar sentiments were also voiced by that erstwhile supporter of the English cause, George Douglas, who feared that the marriage would lead to the economic debilitation of Scotland "for then both realmes should be as one, and Skotland clerely undone".[109] The Scots, he declared,

---

105 For a detailed account of this period, see: Sanderson, Cardinal of Scotland, pp.160-76.

106 S.P. Henry VIII, IV, pp.262-5.

107 Sanderson, Cardinal of Scotland, p.163. Further evidence of support for Beaton is suggested in Hamilton Papers, II, p.30.

108 Inglis, Sir Adam Otterburn of Redhall, pp.75-76.

109 Hamilton Papers, I, p.358.

"do desire to have a king amonges theym selves for their owne wealthe as they alweys had." As we shall see, this was not a view shared by Lindsay.

Further pressure was placed upon the government's crumbling pro-English policy with the arrival from France of Arran's natural brother, John Hamilton, Abbot of Paisley, and of Matthew, Fourth Earl of Lennox, who, according to Lindsay, was brought over by Beaton specifically "For heygh contemptioun of the Gouernor" (The Tragedie of the Cardinal, 169). Lennox offered a pointed reminder of Arran's questionable legitimacy for, if this were successfully disputed, then Lennox, by virtue of descent from Mary, daughter of James II, would stand as heir presumptive to the Scottish throne. Moreover, being a bachelor of only twenty six, he was not an implausible candidate for the hand either of the Queen Dowager or even of the Queen herself. The presence in Scotland of John Hamilton was equally unnerving for Arran and it was probably this which caused him to dismiss his Protestant preachers including John Rough. It was obvious to all that the Anglo-Scottish peace and marriage treaties, eventually concluded at Greenwich on 1 July 1543, rested upon extremely precarious foundations. Within the month the Cardinal and his supporters had signed a mutual bond - dubbed the Linlithgow Bond - pledging themselves to defend the realm and to protect the Queen from English ambitions.[110] As a result, something of a compromise was reached which focused on agreement regarding custody of the royal infant. However, further pressure on Arran resulted in his total capitulation and realignment with Beaton, a move symbolized by the former's public recantation of his association with heresy for

110 An analysis of the signatories is provided by Sanderson, who argues that it was something less than a broad-based resistance (Cardinal of Scotland, pp.167-68.) Cf. Wormald who views it as illustrative of a wide-spread opposition to the government (Mary Queen of Scots (London, 1988) pp.50-51).

which he received absolution at the hands of the Cardinal. At the parliament of December 1543, the treaty with England was declared broken, heresy legislation was re-enacted, Beaton became Chancellor and Hamilton assumed the Privy Seal. The Cardinal appeared to have the upper hand. Nevertheless, neither this nor his reconciliation with Arran resulted in the restoration of political unity. Division was prolonged by the actions of Lennox who, with an eye to his own dynastic interests, chose to align himself with Henry VIII - first accepting munitions and monies from the French. Lennox also obtained the support of Angus and support for this Angus-Lennox axis was remarkably broad-based.[111]

Obviously, Lindsay's position at Court - indeed his personal security - was seriously threatened by Arran's *volte-face*. His own antipathy to Beaton is vividly illustrated in his poem, The Tragedie of the Cardinal. Although written after Beaton's death in 1547, the comparative detail with which Lindsay describes the months from Beaton's captivity to his subjection of Arran and the repudiation of the Treaties of Greenwich suggests the importance Lindsay attached to this period. Of thirty stanzas dealing directly with Beaton's career, almost a third deal with the year 1543 and a half of these concern the period when "lyke ane Lyone lowsit of his cage" Beaton was reasserting his authority (153). Lindsay was clearly amongst the political casualties when Beaton determinedly emphasised the power of his position by acting against those who had been associated with Angus in the early months of the minority and who had openly flaunted their

---

111 Sanderson, Cardinal of Scotland, p.173. She states that it included 'a number of men with a consistent record of opposition to the conservative position', including those lairds of Fife and East Lothian who were to become open adherents of the Protestant party. Her point is that the group incorporated a far from negligible ideological element.

unorthodoxy.[112] Maxwell and Somerville were imprisoned and, in November 1543, Rothes, Gray and Balnaves suffered the same fate with the latter detained in Beaton's personal custody "bicause he [Beaton] loved hym worst of all".[113] Another victim of Beaton's purge was Kirkcaldy of Grange. According to Knox:

> The men of counsall, judgement, and godlynes, that had travailled to promote the Governour, and that gave him faythfull counsall in all dowtfull materis war eyther craftely conveyed from him, or ellis, by threatnyng to be hanged, war compelled to leave him. Of the one nomber war the Lard of Grange foirsaid, Maister Henry Balnavis, Maister Thomas Ballentyne, and Schir Dauid Lyndesay of the Mount; men by whose lauboris he was promoted to honour.[114]

Also named by Knox as being amongst those so acted against are David Borthwick, David Foresse, David Bothwell and Michael Durham, the physician who attended the dying James V, who initially found favour under Arran and who following his expulsion became an English collaborator.[115] Details of the episode (which Knox probably obtained from Balnaves) were picked up and repeated by both Calderwood and Spottiswode.[116] But, that Lindsay was amongst those purged from Court is rejected by Hamer who states:

> He did not quit official service, and the statement that Lindsay retired from Court during the regency is certainly untrue, except in so far as there was a great closing down of Court activities after the death of James V.[117]

However, as we have seen, the period following James's death was marked by intense diplomatic activity (activity, moreover, in which Lindsay

---

112 For details of Beaton's actions, see: Sanderson, Cardinal of Scotland, p.174.

113 Hamilton Papers, II, p.187.

114 Knox, Works, I, pp.105-06.

115 For further details of Durham's career, see: Marcus H. Merriman, "The Assured Scots", S.H.R., 47, (1968) pp.110-134, p.22.

116 Calderwood, History of the Kirk, I, p.161 & Spottiswode, History of the Church of Scotland (1639), 10 vols, (Bannatyne Club, 1847-50) I, p.144 & 192.

117 Hamer, Works, IV, p.xxix.

was directly involved) and he was certainly at the hub of the arrangements for the royal funeral. The 'general shut-down' theory is clearly untenable. While Lindsay was not as harshly dealt with as, for example, Balnaves and Learmonth, and may not have been formally dismissed, he seems to have considered it prudent to withdraw to his estates in the winter following Beaton's rapprochement with the Governor. Lindsay was not alone in adopting such a strategy. Despite frantic English efforts to rouse potential sympathisers against the new regime, a disappointed Suffolk was obliged to report:

> They count themselves not of force sufficient to doo any thinge ageynst the contrary partie by force, but intendeth to kepe them selves in their countreis and to do the best they can to resiste the contrary parte that shall come agaynst them...and in the seasone to speik feire and give gentill wordes to the contrarye parte.[118]

This atmosphere is recalled by Lindsay in The Tragedie of the Cardinal where he describes how "Gret Lordis, dreidyng...[Beaton] shulde do thame deir/ Thay durst nocht cum tyll court but assurance" (220-21). This insight into the trepidation felt at this time suggests that such fear was by no means exclusive to the nobility but was shared by the poet who, in similar fashion, kept himself 'in his country'. Thus, in October 1543, he was certainly at Cupar where he and a servant witnessed a summons and in March 1544 he was again - perhaps still - at the Mount.[119] One would have expected the Lyon King to have played a prominent part in the arrangements for Mary's coronation on 9 September 1543 and yet there is no evidence to support this. Indeed, the ceremony must have been a low-key affair with no hint of it appearing in the Treasurer's accounts for the period. A significant section of the political community including Angus, Glencairn, Cassillis, Maxwell,

---

118 Hamilton Papers, II, p.214.

119 Reported by Bute Pursuivant in the Parliament of December 1543 (A.P.S., II, p.429, 438 & 441): T.A., VIII, p.275.

Somerville and Gray failed to attend despite Beaton's request that they do so.[120] The uninspiring celebrations may have been partly dictated by the need to protect the infant queen from the rigours of a full ceremony (she had only recently recovered from an attack of small-pox).[121] But it remains surprising that more was not made of this opportunity for Beaton to demonstrate his resurgent authority, building on Arran's public recantation and submission. Part of the explanation may be the absence of Lindsay and the expertise and symbolic status attached to his office.

Following the immediate crisis period in the winter of 1543-44, Lindsay gradually assumed a higher profile, attending parliament in November 1544 and October 1545, although not apparently regaining the kind of influence enjoyed during the previous decade and perhaps not even attending Court on a regular basis. Evidence supporting this is provided by the virtual cessation of any type of activity undertaken in an official capacity. In the spring of 1544, there was a suggestion that Lindsay was to be employed for the return of the Order of the Golden Fleece. A boy was sent to the Mount to deliver a message to Lindsay (possibly his commission) while a letter written by James Douglas, the Master of Morton, mentions Lindsay, ambassador to the King of Spain, as one of those reported to be sailing to France in *The Lyon*.[122] However, it is clear that the ship never sailed and that Lindsay was not called upon in this instance. In April 1544, Sir Walter Lindsay was authorised to return the insignia and eventually the mission was completed by Snowdon Herald.[123] Obviously, Lindsay no

---

120 Sadler, Papers, I, p.228-89. Sadler confirms that the ceremony was a muted affair.

121 Wormald, Mary Queen of Scots, p.44.

122 Hamilton Papers, II, p.716.

123 T.A., VIII, p.340; L.& P. Henry VIII, XIX, i, no.435.

longer retained the confidence of the administration. That he had virtually ceased to act as an officer of arms is further suggested by an examination of the payments made to him in the 1540s. In 1543, he received £20 in part payment of his annual fee and oats for his horses, but regular payments seem to have stopped thereafter.[124] There is only one further payment made (in August 1545) before money is allocated for his embassy to Denmark undertaken in the late 1540s.[125]

These events undoubtedly had a significant impact upon Lindsay. For the first time in some thirty years he was no longer intimately attached to the Court. Hereafter, his poetry is less focused upon the court environment and instead pays greater attention to the community as a whole. Against a background of political and religious instability and a widespread atmosphere of fear and tension, the quest for a solution to the problems of government was undoubtedly rendered especially pressing. Lindsay, who lost his official pension and whose East Lothian lands must have been affected by the Rough Wooing, undoubtedly suffered personal misfortune during this period. His anguish, however, extended beyond his own affairs and his poetry vividly conveys a very real sorrow over his country's plight. His removal from Court enabled him to appreciate with heightened perspicacity the position of other members of society seen, for example, in Ane Satyre of the Thrie Estatis, when he describes the hardship suffered by the Poor Man of Tranent. Periods of dearth, war and plague prompted a desperate search for an explanation of such apparently arbitrary afflictions and, in this way, they served to prepare for Lindsay's eager reception of an apocalyptic historiography,

---

124 E.R., XVIII, p.17 & 23.

125 T.A., VIII, p.403.

one which not only accounted for such troubles but which also offered him true hope of spiritual salvation.

Scotland's problems were compounded by the intervention of both England and France. The latter, along with the Papacy, supported the ruling administration and in May 1545 sent troops to Scotland. On the other hand, Henry VIII, thwarted in his attempt to secure the English marriage through the mediation of the Assured Lords and determined to ensure Scottish quiescence in the event of a projected assault upon France, instructed the Earl of Hertford to mount a savage attack north of the border. Also instructed to wage a simultaneous propaganda campaign designed to undermine Beaton's authority, Hertford posted in the areas devastated by English armies the taunt, "You may thank your Cardinal for this".[126] Lindsay, who very possibly saw such propaganda, was in complete accord with the English government's interpretation of events. When writing of Beaton (at a time when the Cardinal was no longer a threat but when English sympathies were nevertheless dangerous) Lindsay resurrected this English accusation. "I was the rute of all that gret myschief," Beaton is made to declare, "I wes the cause of mekle more myschance" (The Tragedie of the Cardinal, 187 & 190).

Another result of spending more time in his local community was to heighten Lindsay's awareness of growing Protestant support within the region. This is hinted at in The Tragedie of the Cardinal in which Beaton is condemned for his harsh treatment of heretics, "In speciale mony gentyll men of fyfe" (215). The gradual spread of Reformed opinion is reflected in the reception accorded the mission of the Protestant George Wishart. During the autumn of 1545, Wishart was in Dundee and he followed this up with visits to East Lothian, preaching

---

126 L.& P. Henry VIII, XIX, i, no.188.

in Tranent. Lindsay may well have heard his evangelical message in person. Certainly, he could hardly have been unaware of it. Although it would be difficult to claim Lindsay shared Wishart's views (although he was undeniably sympathetic to some of them), both men brought a similar energetic, evangelical approach to their calling.[127] Wishart's determination to speak out before as wide and as varied an audience as possible must have struck a chord with the poet and may have encouraged him in the composition of his later works, works intended to press home his message to as many as possible.

Wishart's execution in 1546 represents the authorities' attempt both to silence a potential spiritual leader and to strike at the influential men who supported him. Although it has been linked directly to the murder of Cardinal Beaton which took place two months later, it is clear that plots involving Sir James Kirkcaldy of Grange (superseded as Treasurer by John Hamilton), Norman Leslie, Crichton of Brunstane, the Earl Marischal and the Earl of Cassillis (all men with whom Lindsay would have been familiar both at Court and in the locality) had been circulating as early as April 1544.[128] While there is no evidence that these particular conspiracies were connected with the actual assassination on 29 May 1546, again Lindsay would have been familiar enough with the band which broke into St Andrews Castle and which included Norman Leslie, John Leslie of Parkhill, his uncle and William Kirkcaldy, son of Sir James. Indeed, there existed a distant family connection as Norman Leslie was the son-in-law of Lord Lindsay of the Byres.[129] The description of the treatment of Beaton's corpse and the rumours circulating in the district found in The Tragedie of

---

127 For more on Wishart, see: Chapter Eight.

128 L.& P. Henry VIII, XIX, i, no.350 & S.P.Henry VIII, IV, p.377.

129 A.P.S., II, p.472.

the Cardinal reveal that, while not in the confidence of those who perpetrated the attack, Lindsay was very much the alert local spectator. The fact that the assassins planned not only to kill Beaton, but also to hold the castle in anticipation of English intervention illustrates that the episode was an intended *coup*, an attempt to implement by violence what had failed to survive in 1543.[130] Another link with the heady days of 1543 (and later with the English government) was provided when the Castilians were joined by Henry Balnaves. John Borthwick, another 1530s evangelical (and, following his escape in 1540, a servant of Henry VIII), was also associated with the siege.[131] Although confined to his estates, he clearly managed to communicate with the rebels and, in April 1547, when Balnaves arrived in Berwick from the Castle, he was accompanied by Borthwick.[132] However, the situation in the 1540s was very different to that of the previous decade. Now, ideas of persuasion and reform through the agencies of king/governor and parliament were abandoned by the Castilians and, although themselves a tiny minority, their actions powerfully articulated an alternative approach to the problem of reformation.

The assassination and subsequent siege swiftly became the focus of international concern with English intervention seemingly imminent. The Cardinal's murder, while it restored a degree of political independence to Arran, nevertheless left him in an almost impossible situation. Capitulation to the murderers would earn him only universal condemnation. The resumption of friendly overtures to England would seriously damage his own dynastic interests and to call upon French aid

---

130 Sanderson, Cardinal of Scotland, p.229.

131 Durkan, "Scottish Evangelicals", p.153.

132 R.P.C., I, p.43: C.S.P. Scot., I, no.14.

would pave the way for increased French domination, consolidating the influence of Mary of Guise. Neither was Arran in a position to crush the Castilians by brute force: fear of reprisals (both from England and within Scotland) and fear for his son (whom Beaton had held to secure his father's loyalty and who was now a prisoner of the rebels) precluded this option. Arran was thus left conducting an ineffective siege while, in fact, being reliant upon a negotiated solution. Significantly, he turned - as he had in 1543 - to Lindsay. Shortly after the assassination, Arran had summoned "all and sindry Baronis, Landit men, and utheris Gentilmen dwelland within the shereffdome of Fiff", to seek their "avise and counsel".[133] Presumably amongst this group, Lindsay was called on more specifically when, six months later, his services were again requested. A report sent from Balnaves to Henry VIII describes how on 16 December 1546:

> Lyone heralde witht one trumpatt was send to ws frome the Governour and Counsale at 11 houris before noune, and desyred speaking; to whome we maide no ansure. Then he departid, and tolde to the Governour and Counsale he coulde have no speaking of us. Notwithstanding, he was send agane at tuo houris efter noune, and desyred that one of our servandis wolde schew to us, the Governour haithe convenit the nobill men of the realme, and by thare advise wolde send to speake us. To the whiche we condescendit and granted...[134]

Lindsay's actions here are only what we might expect of an officer of arms, but after such a marked period of inactivity his employment is noteworthy. It suggests that Arran's choice was the deliberate selection of one who - himself a Fife laird and with known evangelical sympathies - may have served to break the deadlock rather than simply inflame the situation. Lindsay's limited success suggests that he was in fact able to appeal to the Castilians, several of whom he had known for some years. However, it seems as if Lindsay's sympathies were more

---

133 R.P.C., I, p.28.

134 S.P. Henry VIII, IV, pp.581-82.

fully committed than Arran had appreciated. Although at the start of the siege any communication with the rebels had been expressly forbidden, Lindsay, having played his part in the negotiations, maintained both a keen interest in the situation and, like Borthwick, a channel of communication with those holed up in the Castle .[135] When two of its occupants, Balnaves and John Rough (the Protestant preacher who had served Arran in 1543), called upon Knox to preach, they did so after much consideration, "having with thame in counsall Schir David Lyndesay of the Mount".[136] The source for this episode is Knox himself and, although often unreliable, his story seems an improbable fabrication. It is unlikely that an episode of such central importance in his career would be obscure in Knox's mind and while he may have been keen to associate it with a man later claimed by Scottish Protestants as one of their own, the fact that he barely refers to Lindsay otherwise argues against this. Moreover, the parallels between Knox's first sermon delivered from the pulpit at St Andrews and Lindsay's Monarche again point to some degree of contact between Lindsay and the Reformers.[137] This was probably limited with Lindsay making sporadic visits from the Mount rather than joining the occupation. He was not with the Castilians when St Andrews fell to the French on 31 July 1547 and he escaped the fate that awaited Balnaves and Knox. While he may have had some sympathy with the Reformers, Lindsay did not embrace their faith and neither did he endorse their confrontational approach.[138] Instead, he maintained the vision of evangelical reform stimulated by an appeal to the authorities and

---

135 R.P.C., I, p.28.

136 Knox, Works, I, p.186.

137 Brother Kenneth, "Sir David Lindsay - Reformer", Innes Review, I, (1950) pp.79-91. See also Chapter Eight.

138 For a fuller discussion, see: Chapter Eight.

enacted by the king in conjunction with the estates. Nevertheless, Lindsay's association with the Castilians could not have passed unnoticed by the administration. However, the Government's most pressing concern was renewed English aggression culminating in the disastrous Scottish defeat at Pinkie in September 1547 which opened the way for the semi-occupation of the country. In the face of this, Arran seems to have been content to dispatch Lindsay to Denmark thereby removing from the country a man whose political and religious sympathies were not in line with government policy, but whose long service and symbolic status rendered him difficult to deal with in any other manner.

In July 1547, some few months after his dealings with Knox, Lindsay was again on his Fife estates. By the end of the following year, he was sent to Denmark.[139] He was charged with presenting his country's position regarding recent incidences of piracy; enlisting Danish naval aid, seeking authorisation for Scots to provision, trade and buy arms in Denmark and requesting that Christian III help obtain similar concessions from his allies.[140] In Lindsay, Arran had chosen a spokesman most eloquent in describing the wretched condition of a country brought low by war (as is seen, for example, in The Tragedie of the Cardinal). Although the Danish government refused to send a fleet to Scotland, Lindsay's mission was, in other respects, relatively successful. He succeeded in extracting a conciliatory response

---

139 T.A., IX, p.96 (Lindsay on his estates). Details of Lindsay's visit to Denmark are best obtained from the Danish sources examined by Thorkild Lyby Christensen in "The Earl of Rothes in Denmark", in Cowan & Shaw, ed., The Renaissance and Reformation in Scotland, pp.60-74. For references to Lindsay's expenses for the trip, see: T.A., IX, p.259 (December 1548) & 347 (October 1549, some months after his return).

140 Christensen, "The Earl of Rothes", p.68. Also: S.R.O. RH 2/7/6 fol.142. (This is an incomplete eighteenth century copy of Lindsay's instructions.)

regarding the piracies and Christian agreed that the Scots might trade as requested. Indeed, Scotland's approach to Denmark generated sufficient alarm south of the Border to warrant the despatch of a 'counter' embassy to secure an Anglo-Danish understanding based on Protestant solidarity. To discredit the Scottish petition, Protector Somerset deliberately selected an exiled Scottish Protestant to argue that support for England best served his country's interests. Significantly perhaps, the chosen envoy was John Borthwick.[141] Although the two were in Denmark at the same time, whether they met is not known. The possibility of renewed contact is therefore intriguing yet ultimately only speculative.

Delayed by wintery conditions, Lindsay spent several months in Denmark. Eventually, he set out for Scotland in February 1549 but was ship-wrecked - apparently being fortunate to survive - and it was only in the Spring that he was finally able to depart.[142] This was Lindsay's last overseas journey. When, in February 1550, a further embassy was despatched to Denmark, the ambassador was the Earl of Rothes.[143] Lindsay's experiences in Denmark were significant for a number of reasons. Undeniably his narrow escape from death focused his mind upon his own mortality prompting the contemplation of the human condition found in his last work, The Monarche. In the final analysis, the poem offers comfort, holding out the promise of heavenly salvation. However, it was also undeniably the result of Lindsay's morbid speculation upon death and its meaning. Indeed, Lindsay writes:

> Gretlye it doith perturbe my mynde,
> Off dolent Deith the diuers kynd
> .....

141 Ibid., "The Earl of Rothes", p. 68 and Durkan, "Scottish Evangelicals", p.153.

142 Christensen, "The Earl of Rothes", p.69.

143 Ibid., p.71.

...and quhwo mony ane man
Apone the see doith lose thare lyuis,
(5094-95 & 5133-34)

The themes of The Monarche and, to a lesser extent, of Ane Satyre - the miserable condition of Scotland and man's search for salvation - although pertinent to Lindsay's life as a whole, are remarkably encapsulated in the Danish embassy of 1548-49.

Lindsay's Danish journey was important in another respect also, bringing him into contact with the Lutheran faith of the Danish Church. There were in Denmark significant numbers of Scots (not all of them religious dissidents) and Lindsay most likely gravitated to their circles during his enforced stay in that country.[144] It appears likely that he had some contact with the Scot, Robert MacAlpine (also known as Maccabeus), a former Dominican Friar of Perth whose beliefs had obliged him to flee Scotland in 1534.[145] As we shall see, the 1554 edition of The Monarche is credited with being "Imprentit at the Command and Expensis off Doctour MACHABEUS in Copmanhovin" and, although probably printed by John Scot in St Andrews, it seems that Maccabeus, having met Lindsay in Copenhagen, retained an interest in his subsequent work.[146] Another Scot in Denmark was John Gau, author of the Lutheran tract, The Richt Vay to the Kingdome of Heuine (1533) who, friendly with Maccabeus, was also resident in Copenhagen at the time of Lindsay's stay and who might also have become acquainted with the poet.[147]

Lindsay's embassy to Denmark was his final major duty as Lyon King. Although continuing to act in an administrative and judicial

---

144 T. L. Christensen, "Scoto-Danish Relations in the Sixteenth Century", S.H.R., 48, (1969) pp.80-97. & "Scots in Denmark in the Sixteenth Century", S.H.R., 49, (1970) pp.125-45. For more on the Danish Church, see Chapter Eight.

145 Durkan, "Scottish Evangelicals", esp. pp.139-40 & 151-52.

146 Hamer, Works, IV, p.23.

147 A. F. Mitchell, ed., John Gau: The Richt Vay to the Kingdom of Heuine (S.T.S., 1888) p.xxiv.

capacity, he was not again required to leave Scotland. In the accounts detailing "The expensis debursit upoun officiaris of armes and utheris travelland in my lord governouris affairis" for the year 1552, Lindsay is not mentioned; Islay herald is despatched to England and it is Lindsay's eventual successor - Robert Forman, Ross Herald - who is sent to the French King and the Emperor.[148] There are in fact no payments at all recorded to Lindsay during the 1550s. However, if these years saw no official activity, in terms of his poetry, the last years of Lindsay's life were his most productive. While it may simply be that he had more time for writing during this period, it does seem as if Lindsay made a conscious decision to re-address questions of religious and political reform. In so doing, he was deliberately rejecting the type of violent action adopted by the Castilians and it also seems likely that he was inspired in part by the zeal of George Wishart's evangelical mission. Lindsay was probably also encouraged by the fact that after some eight years of intermittent warfare, Anglo-Scottish hostilities ceased and most French troops withdrew from Scotland. With the restoration of peace, the reformation of the body politic seemed in order. Moreover, by the 1550s, Lindsay had become interested in apocalyptic interpretations of world history. Firmly believing that the end of the world was imminent, the need to call his fellow countrymen to repentance and reform possessed a new and added urgency.

In 1550, Lindsay produced The Historie of Squyer Meldrum. This interesting work is more than a commemoration of the life of a late friend, the poem's eponymous hero, it is also an examination of the tenets of chivalry and a search for a more meaningful lay identity formulated with reference to the emerging ideology of the commonweal. In June 1552, Ane Satyre of the Thrie Estatis, another work intimately

148 T.A., X, pp.84-85.

concerned with questions relating to the commonweal and of good government was performed at Cupar.[149] Unfortunately, very little is known concerning the staging of this play. There are no references to the performance in the Cupar burgh records which suggests, perhaps, that it was staged by a very informal group of players who provided their own props and equipment.[150] A more semi-professional set-up is hinted at by Diligence's reference to a future performance the following year (4615) but this seems little more than a pleasing phrase with which to bring the action to a close and if, as it is tempting to think, Lindsay did indeed play the part of the herald, this supports the idea that the performance (certainly as staged in Cupar) was something of a 'one-off' affair. Finally, in 1553, Lindsay completed Ane Dialog betuix Experience and Ane Courtiour, Off the Miserabyll Estait of the Warld (commonly known as The Monarche), a scholarly world history which serves to answer a courtier's questions concerning the nature of personal fulfilment and spiritual salvation.[151]

Lindsay's later works, in particular Ane Satyre and The Monarche, are notable for their robust and caustic criticism of clerical abuse and for their occasional doctrinal ambiguity. Again, this raises the question of how Lindsay escaped censure and prosecution. Pitscottie relates how an act "that Schir Dawid Lyndsay's buike sould be condemnid

---

149 A precise dating (Tuesday, June 7 1552) is possible owing to a reference in the Cupar Banns (Hamer, Works, II, p.10-32). This short piece, designed to announce the performance, is found in the Bannantyne Manuscript. For a recent summary of the various arguments concerning dating, see: Lyall, Ane Satyre, p.ix-xiv.

150 For the dearth of source material, see: Anna Jean Mill, Mediaeval Plays in Scotland (Edinburgh & London, 1927) p.168. The Cupar Burgh Records can be found in St Andrews University Library, (B.13/10/1).

151 There is also a suggestion that Lindsay produced a history of Scotland, now lost, especially of the events to which he had been witness (Hamer, Works, V, pp.19-20).

and burnt" was duly enforced.[152] However, the episode in question remains unclear. Although Pitscottie dates it to December 1559, it may in fact be a reference to the virtual censorship legislation passed by parliament in 1552, forbidding the unauthorized publication of "bukis, ballatis, fangis, blasphematiounis rymes or Tragedies outher in latine or Inglis toung".[153] The fact that the act was aimed primarily at printers may explain why it was that Lindsay, an author, escaped prosecution. It probably also explains why Maccabeus, safe in Denmark, offered his name to the 1554 edition of The Monarche. The care taken to protect the printer of this work illustrates that it was recognised as potentially dangerous to those involved in its production. Perhaps the government's failure to take a tougher line with Lindsay is also explained by the fact that he was, by this date, an old man. They may have deemed it unwise to harry a respected and symbolically important figure when nature could be relied upon to take her course. Perhaps too, Lindsay received a degree of protection from Mary of Guise. Possibly sympathetic to her husband's old servant and appreciative of the pleasure he had brought to her early days in Scotland, Mary was also a keen enthusiast of the drama. Her election to the regency in April 1554 was marked by an outburst of dramatic activity, including a performance of Ane Satyre of the Thrie Estatis staged on the newly built Greenside playfield on Calton Hill.[154] Evidence for the dating of this production (accepted as August 12 1554) comes from several sources. The Bannatyne Manuscript refers to an Edinburgh performance in the 1550s, while Henrie Charteris's preface to the Warkis recalls a play staged "in presence of the Quene Regent, and ane greit part of the

152 Pitscottie, Chronicles, II, p.141.

153 A.P.S., II, pp.488-89. Hamer suggests it refers to action taken against The Tragedie of the Cardinal in 1549, (Works, IV, p.273).

154 Hamer, Works, IV, pp.140-43.

Nobilitie, with ane exeding greit nowmer of pepil".[155] Most convincing of all, however, are the entries in the burgh records relating to a play on this date and to the props - the eight "play hattis", the crown, mitre, fool's hood, sceptre, angel wings, angel headdresses and "chaplet of tryvmphe" - which were required.[156] Whether Lindsay himself was involved with this performance is unknown. If so, it was one of his last actions in this world. Exactly when he died is, like so many of the details of his life, unclear, but that he was dead by March 1555 is apparent from a charter of that date.[157]

Lindsay's death brought to a close the career not only of an important and often influential royal servant but also that of an eminent poet. Written over the course of almost three decades, his work supplies a vivid picture of his environment ranging from the day-to-day activities of his fellow courtiers to the actions of kings and princes, providing too a unique insight into how this environment was understood and explained in sixteenth century Scotland. Just how Lindsay chose to convey his perceptions of government, society and the Church is the subject of the chapters which follow.

---

155 Charteris, The Warkis, fol.2^{v}. Reprinted, Hamer, Works, I, p.396.

156 Extracts from the Edinburgh Burgh Records, II, pp.196-97. See too: Edinburgh's Treasurers' Accounts, p.110.

157 R.M.S., IV, no.1006.

P A R T II

THE ART OF GOVERNMENT: KINGSHIP AND COMMONWEAL

Sir, gif ye please for to vse my counsall,
Your fame and name sall be perpetuall.
(Ane Satyre of the Thrie Estatis, 1900-01)

Chapter Four

Kings and Kingship

> I haif (quod I) bene to this hour
> Sen I could ryde, one Courtiour,
> (The Monarche, 328-30)

In typically straightforward fashion, the narrator of The Monarche identifies his 'vocatioun'. While we can not assume a direct autobiographical relationship between Lindsay and his Courtiour-creation, it is significant that the pivotal character of this, his most important poem, is like Lindsay himself a courtier. This is the most striking example of the way in which over thirty years spent at Court profoundly influenced Lindsay's work - even that which can not be strictly classified as court-literature. This chapter aims to look at what Lindsay had to say about his courtly environment, in particular about the King and his fellow courtiers. His treatment of these and related topics casts an important light upon contemporary attitudes towards such themes as kingship, government and service. It will be seen that Lindsay's poetry illustrates the tenacity of traditional assumptions and ideals. His political vocabulary, familiar to generations of Scots before him, represents the legacy of centuries of medieval thinking. This is not to criticize Lindsay's lack of originality - a meaningless criticism to levy against any sixteenth century text - but to remark upon the vitality of prevailing modes of political thinking and the longevity of the language in which it was couched. This essential conservatism represents an important aspect of Scottish political culture during the Renaissance, one that we cannot afford to overlook. We do, however, detect within Lindsay's work a certain unease with some aspects of traditional thinking, particularly with regard to the interaction of ideas of kingship on the one hand and of the commonweal on the other. The ways in which this disquiet is

suggested as well as Lindsay's attempts to modify the conventional ideal will be discussed in this and later chapters. But first, we must consider the time-honoured political ideology which formed the bedrock of Lindsay's thinking.

Before examining his treatment of kingship in detail, it is as well to recall that, for Lindsay, its discussion was conditioned by personal experience. In the course of his life, four Stewart monarchs sat upon the Scottish throne. Of these, two had a direct and profound influence upon his career, while James III and Mary, each in their different ways, also contributed to his understanding of Scottish kingship. In addition, his career brought him into contact with non-Scottish rulers, the Emperor Charles V, Henry VIII, Francis I and Christian III; experiences which offered a benchmark against which to set traditional Scottish expectations. Arguably, however, it was not the experience of any one particular king, but more the experience of no king at all which was the truly formative influence upon Lindsay. Indeed, for some twenty eight years of his life, Scotland was without a ruling monarch. The absence of the traditional figurehead threw into relief as nothing else could the role the king was expected to play and the qualities he had to possess. The vicissitudes of Lindsay's career - the low points all the result of minority politics - made him particularly sensitive to the problems associated with minority administrations, emphasizing the need for strong adult rule, intensifying its attraction as a political ideal and rendering it all the more eagerly sought after. As we shall see, Lindsay's preoccupation with the figure of the ideal prince was far from unusual during this period. In his case, however, it was as much the result of personal experience as it was the expression of conventional political expectations.

Personal experience alone can not explain Lindsay's attitudes towards kings and kingship. His thinking is almost completely dependent upon the dominant political ideologies of the time and his work forms part of a long tradition devoted to the discussion of kingship, hammering home well-worn themes garnered from a storehouse bulging with the accepted wisdom of centuries of European thinking. This tradition was extremely familiar to Scots of the sixteenth century who were able to draw not only on Classical and European authorities but also on a rich fund of native writing on the subject (although, of course, this was in turn often derived from such sources).[1] The traditional kingship literature of western Europe was firmly rooted in the philosophies of Aristotle and Augustine (the former in particular as filtered through the writing of Thomas Aquinas).[2] In unequivocal terms, Aquinas had set out the basic aims and functions of government, relocating Aristotle's pursuit of *Eudaimonia* or 'the good life' within a divine cosmology. The attainment of salvation through virtuous living and the grace of God became society's new goal:

> It is a king's duty to promote the welfare of the community in such a way that it leads fittingly to the happiness of heaven.[3]

This is slightly different from the Augustinian conceptualization of government, not as an end in itself, but as a divinely instituted mechanism for countering the disruptive qualities of sin.

---

1 The richness and importance of the Scottish tradition has been fully demonstrated by Sally Mapstone's substantial study "The Advice to Princes Tradition in Scottish Literature 1450-1500", Unpublished D.Phil. Thesis, Oxford University, (1986).

2 See: T. A. Sinclair, ed. & trans., Aristotle, The Politics (Harmondsworth, 1962); J. A. K. Thomson, trans. & H. Tredennick & J. Barnes ed., The Ethics of Aristotle, (Harmondsworth, revised edn., 1976) and A. P. D'Entrèves, ed. & J. G. Dawson trans., Aquinas, Selected Political Writings (Oxford, 1948). See also: R. G. Mulgan, Aristotle's Political Theory, An Introduction for Students of Political Thought (Oxford, 1977) & Dino Bigongiari, ed., The Political Ideas of St Thomas Aquinas (New York, 1953)

3 Aquinas, Selected Political Writings, p.79.

Nevertheless, both schools of thought tended towards the same practical consequence and, to a large extent, politics became a branch of Christian ethics and political discussion was conducted within a moral matrix. This was reinforced by Platonic ideas of kingship and tyranny, defined in moral and psychological rather than legal terms; while the tyrant gave rein to his base passions, true kingship was the sovereignty of reason.[4] The idea, expressed by Aristotle, that only the virtuous are capable of truly virtuous government - and that only they deserve such an honour - was, in theory at least, universally accepted. Less universal yet extremely wide-spread was the belief that of the six basic forms of government identified by Aristotle, monarchy represented the best constitution. Certainly, this provided a suitable ideological foundation for most European experience, underpinning a feudal system in which the king naturally sat at the head of a hierarchical structure. In addition, the medieval quest to impose balance and order within a naturally graded universe provided a further ideological prop. As Aquinas had it, the King in his kingdom was what the Soul was to the Body, what God was to the Universe: divine action in the universe provided men with a pattern for kingship.[5] Two important conclusions emerge from this brief discussion. Firstly, divinely sanctioned kingship was the lynchpin of most systems of government and the person of the prince is the key to any understanding of political thought in this period. Secondly, as a result of the association between politics and theology and between virtue and government, political discussion was couched in the language of moral exhortation. To modern ears, such homilies might sound unsophisticated or irrelevant. However, the fundamental importance of the principle

---

4 Rebecca W. Bushnell, Tragedies of Tyrants: Political Thought and Theater in the English Renaissance (Ithaca & London, 1990) pp.10-11.

5 Aquinas, Selected Political Writings, pp.68-69.

can not be over emphasized. The portrayal of the virtuous Christian prince which lay at the heart of much medieval kingship literature was not simply paying lip-service to a time-honoured convention; on the contrary, it represented a very real, extremely serious, political aspiration.

Understanding this helps answer an important question raised when analysing the respective influence of personal experience and universal assumptions on Lindsay's thinking. Should Lindsay's work be understood typologically or does it offer a more specific commentary on Stewart kingship in Renaissance Scotland? As earlier chapters demonstrate, with careful treatment, Lindsay's works yield significant biographical information. His assessment of James IV and his account of the various regency administrations of 1513-28 is basically accurate. With regard to the personal rule of James V, it is clear that Lindsay did introduce some quite specific material: the reference to Bagsche the royal hound, the wedding celebrations in Paris, possibly even James's unedifying romp with a slut in the kitchens.[6] All these bear the stamp of events actually witnessed. This is not to deny that Lindsay dealt equally in archetypal figures. Unsurprizingly though, these figures articulated deeply held political beliefs and, even allowing for the highly conventional and rather limited political vocabulary at his disposal, Lindsay was able to relate such figures to the real world. This is clearly illustrated in Ane Satyre of the Thrie Estatis. It has been argued that Rex Humanitas, the young King who falls prey to evil counsel and the lures of a loose woman, is a portrait of James V.[7] On

6 Found in The Complaint and Public Confessioun of Bagsche, The Deploratioun, and The Answer to the Kingis Flyting respectively.

7 It is generally accepted, writes Agnes Muir Mackenzie, that Rex Humanitas is 'a candid but kindly sketch of James V', (J. Kinsley, ed., Ane Satyre of the Thrie Estatis (London, 1954) p.20). In fact, it is not generally accepted at all and indeed its acceptance can have disastrous consequences. It forces John MacQueen into the untenable argument that Ane Satyre was first performed before a

this occasion, such a straightforward reading is inappropriate. Clearly, Ane Satyre is an allegorical and not a mimetic drama. As Kantorwitcz has convincingly argued, it derives its impact and strength from a lucid presentation of thematic material in a manner readily understood by a sixteenth century audience.[8] Given recent events, these themes may have been peculiarly apt, but they were not uniquely so. Rex Humanitas is, as his name suggests, an archetypal character, the peg upon which Lindsay hangs his discussion of kingship. If this discussion looks at times like the simple adumbration of time honoured platitudes, that does not make it any less relevant to Lindsay's own experiences. Indeed, Ane Satyre reveals Lindsay's faith in the ability of this conventional vision to describe a process of real political reformation. This then helps answer the question of how Lindsay's treatment of kingship should be understood. Certainly, it was more often typological than topical, but, at the same time, such an approach could provide a pertinent commentary on Scottish kings and what was expected of them.

It is important to establish the different ways of reading Lindsay as this allows us to appreciate just how political his works were. While it is the ethical dimension of Lindsay's message which most forcibly strikes the modern reader, it was the political aspect which struck home to his sixteenth century audience. It was, moreover, a message which he took every opportunity to underline. Every one of Lindsay's extant works makes mention of a king figure - albeit only

---

Cupar audience in the early 1530s. His obsession with historical topicality also leads MacQueen to suggest that Dame Sensualitie is a portrait of James's mistress, Margaret Erskine ("Ane Satyre of the Thrie Estatis", S.S.L., III, no.3, (1966) pp.129-143). For a convincing rebuttal of this, see: A. J. Mill, "The Original Version of Lindsay's Satyre of the Thrie Estatis", S.S.L., VI, no.2, (1968) pp.67-75.

8 Kantorwitcz, Dramatic Allegory, Chapter One.

passingly in Squyer Meldrum. Of the eight clearly court poems, over half are directly addressed to James V. Among the remainder, The Tragedie of the Cardinal contains a passage delivered "To the Prencis", while The Monarche is dedicated, amongst others, to the Regent and includes a prayer for the absent Queen. Three of Lindsay's court poems deal explicitly with kingship and the same number embody more oblique messages. Even Lindsay's non-court works make important statements on the subject and arguably the most cogent of all is presented in the form of a popular drama. Clearly, the theme was of central importance. Its constant reiteration suggests an equal concern in the minds of his audience, not only at the Scottish court, but also within the community at large.

Without question or qualification, Lindsay accepted kingship as the natural system of government. There is nothing in his works foreshadowing later attempts to define the precise source of sovereign authority, nor does his work, even inadvertently, provide material for such an analysis. Unlike John Mair, for example, Lindsay is unconcerned with the historical origins of kingship. With an ethico-political rather than constitutional vision, he focuses upon its practical implications. Regarding the institution of kingship, Lindsay simply reiterates the traditional belief in monarchy as divinely ordained and patterned. In The Dreme, he tells James V:

> ...God, of his preordinance,
> Haith grantit the to have the gouernance,
> Off his peple, and create the one King.
> (1037-39)

This assumption also shapes the imagery Lindsay employs when portraying the king variously as God's "Instrument", "Governour", "Officiar", and in familiar feudal parlance, as His "wassal".[9] Viewing the king in his

---

9 Ane Satyre, 1878 & The Complaynt, 499; The Testament of the Papyngo, 268, 255 & 256. Although Lindsay did not use them in such a way, the terms 'officar' and 'governor' could have less conservative implications, suggesting, for example, conditional tenure of the

kingdom as a microcosm of God in the universe emphasised royal power and authority to a point which, at times, seemed awesomely vast in scope. In The Testament of the Papyngo, the dying bird reminds the King how:

> And, in the erth [God] maid sic ordinance,
> Under thy feit all thyng terrestryall
> Ar subiect to thy plesour and pastance:
> Boithe fowle, and fysche, and bestis pastorall,
> Men to thy seruyce, and wemen, thay bene thrall:
> (269-73)

Royal power, however, could never be exercised untrammelled, for then it became tyranny. Geared as it was towards Christian salvation, it was circumscribed by the framework of natural and divine law within which all political authority functioned. The Crown brought with it regal responsibility. As stated in The Buke of the Governaunce of Princis, (Gilbert Hay's loose translation of a thirteenth century version of the Secretum Secretorum):

> And tharfore is a king lyknyt to God, for he is as depute and minister to God, and shuld follow him and be lyke him, and conforme him tyll hym in all his dedis of justice, vertu and veritee.[10]

In similar fashion, Lindsay exhorts James:

> Quarefor, dres the, abone all vther thyng,
> Off his [God's] laws to kepe the observance.
> (The Dreme, 1043-44)

God, he sternly reminds him, "wyll nocht excuse thyne Ignorance,/ Geue thow be rekles in thy gouernyng" (1041-42). As Gude-Counsall tells us, the "kinglie cuir" is an onerous burden, borne with "Gret paine and labour, and that continuall" (Ane Satyre, 1888 & 1890).

---

office. For Mair's use of the terms, see: Roger Mason, "Kingship, Nobility and Anglo-Saxon Union: John Mair's History of Greater Britain (1521)", Innes Review, XLI, (1990) pp.182-222, pp.207-08.

10 The Buke of the Governaunce of Princes, (1456), in Gilbert of the Hayes Prose Manuscript, I, pp.71-165, p.145. The importance attached to this obligation was one of the central features of the advice giving tradition (Mapstone, "The Advice to Princes Tradition", pp.95-97).

The King owed an obligation not only to God but also to his subjects.[11] This dual responsibility is most evocatively conveyed in Ane Satyre, where it is immediately set before the audience in Rex Humanitas's important opening speech. The powerful alliterative language with which he addresses the "Lord of Lords", "King of Kings" and "Prince but peir" signifies the strength of his obligation not only to God but also to the "pepill subiect to...[his] cure" (78-79 & 87). This speech is cleverly balanced by Divyne Correctioun's opening words. Entering the stage at a point when these royal obligations appear forgotten, he reasserts them in uncompromising fashion (1572-1620). The very dramatization of Divyne Correctioun, the Scripture-quoting emissary of God, brings to life the bond that ought properly to exist between God and king and the moment when Rex Humanitas "imbraces Correctioun with a humbil countenance" is one of the dramatic climaxes of the play (at 1776).

When Rex Humanitas asked God for grace "...till vse my diademe/ To thy plesour, and to my great comfort" (100-01), what exactly did he mean? What precisely were the expectations surrounding kingship in this period? The ideals of kingship described by Lindsay and indeed common to most late medieval Scottish literature on the subject were extremely traditional: a king's primary duty was the defence of his realm and the administration of justice within it. Sanctioned by classical, biblical and legal authority, this idea was current throughout Europe and not least in Scotland.[12] That justice in particular occupied a central position in Scottish thinking is

---

11 For a further discussion of this dual obligation and its dependence upon a conflation of Aristotelian and Biblical vocabulary, see: Roger A. Mason, "Kingship, Tyranny and the Right to Resist in Fifteenth Century Scotland", S.H.R., 66, (1987) pp.125-155, esp.pp.138-139.

12 Mapstone, "The Advice to Princes Tradition"; Mason, "Kingship, Tyranny and the Right to Resist", p.127.

illustrated not only by traditional kingship literature but also, for example, by the coinage. That issued by James V in 1539 bore the inscription, "*Honor regis Iudicium*" (from the ninety ninth Psalm), the 1553 coinage proclaimed "*Diligite Iusticiam*" and that of 1555, 1557 and 1558 carried the motto, "*Iustus fide vivit*".[13] The concept of justice - as opposed to defence - was that which most closely engaged Lindsay's attention and it is justice which we should first consider.

Lindsay's preoccupation with this theme runs throughout his poetic career. Early and late works alike illustrate the pre-eminent position justice held in his political vocabulary. In The Dreme, John the Commonweal anticipates a time when Scotland shall be ruled by a king "Quhilk sall delyte hym maist, abone all thyng,/ To put Iustice tyll executioun" (1006-07). In Ane Satyre, written some twenty-six years later, the cry is the same. "The principall point, Sir of ane kings office," Gude-Counsall instructs Rex Humanitas, "Is for to do euerilk man iustice" (1882). Divyne Correctioun's very first words recall divine injunctions to seek after justice, and so too do those of Veritie (1572 & 1026).[14] One of the major purposes of the play is to illustrate this principle in action. It is a highly charged moment when, at the height of his infatuation with Dame Sensualitie and at the nadir of his kingship, Rex Humanitas renders up to her his judicial authority. "Dispone hir [Chastitie] as ye think expedient", he instructs his mistress, "Evin as ye list to let hir liue or die,/ I will refer that thing to your Iudgement" (1429-31). This single action symbolizes not simply the abrogation of judicial authority but the

---

13 Ian H. Stewart, The Scottish Coinage (London, 1955) p.78 & 81.

14 Veritie's citation of the first verse of the apocryphal Book of Wisdome of Solomon recalls the first chapter of Book VII of the Meroure of Wyssdome which in turn was derived from Jean Gerson's sermon on this text (Mason, "Kingship, Tyranny and the Right to Resist", p.131.)

surrender of Rex Humanitas's kingship itself. Fittingly, when Rex Humanitas is finally united with Divyne Correctioun, this is symbolised by another, this time entirely appropriate, transference of his judicial authority. "And heir I gif you full commissioun", he tells Correctioun, "To puniche faults and gif remissioun" (1772-73).[15]

Recent scholarship has emphasised that 'justice' can not be be simply understood in a legal/judicial context.[16] Rather, it was a highly emotive term referring not so much to the practical administration of justice but to the ideals of a just administration. As one of the cardinal virtues, it occupied an important position in traditional ethico-political discourse and was used as an effective shorthand method to generate ideals of good government. For Lindsay, the term had enormous scope, symbolising the well-being of the realm:

> Bot quhen the king dois liue in tyrannie
> Breakand Iustice for feare or affectioun
> Then is his Realme in weir and povertie,
> With schameful slauchter but correctioun.
> (Ane Satyre, 1609-12)

In late medieval Scotland, as elsewhere in Europe, this central concept of justice was naturally indispensable to any discussion of kingship. As Hay put it:

> For proprietee is to king or prince to be just, or ellis he declynis fra the propritee of princehede, and fra the glorious God of quham he tuke that office.[17]

---

15 Granting remission for crimes without sufficient grounds (or in exchange for payment) is a complaint regularly found in kingship literature. Mapstone has argued that this type of specific legalistic language and imagery was a distinctive feature of Scottish kingship literature ("The Advice to Princes Tradition", p.451).

16 E.g. Jennifer M. Brown, "The Exercise of Power", in Brown, ed., Scottish Society in the Fifteenth Century, (London, 1977) pp.35-65.

17 Hay, The Buke of the Governaunce of Princis, p.146. For further discussion of this, particularly with regard to Ireland's Meroure of Wyssdome, see: Mason, "Kingship, Tyranny and the Right to Resist", p.127.

Writing a century later, Lindsay took an identical line: "Quhat is ane King?", asks Divyne Correctioun,

> ...Nocht but ane officiar,
> To caus his Leigis liue in equitie:
> And under God to be ane punisher
> Of trespassours against his Maiestie.
> (1605-08)

This definition, cleverly conflating the majesty of God and king, again stresses the essential interconnectedness of the two. This is reinforced when Veritie instructs Rex Humanitas to:

> Fear God, do law and Iustice equally
> Tyll everie man: se that na puir opprest
> Vp to the heuin on yow ane vengence cry.
> (1040-42)

The currency of this type of language is revealed when we compare Lindsay's work with Alexander Kidd's poem, The Rich Fontane of Hailfull Sapience, in which the King is reminded that he will be accused "Befoir grit god" if he fails "as equall juge boith to rich and pure" (32 & 31).[18] "Amang all vertew", he is told, "Iustice is lawreat/ And prince of Iustice the verray Image suld be" (38-39).

While Lindsay refers approvingly to a few specific actions which can be considered examples of 'good government' - for example, James IV's pacification of the Isles and the Borders and the similar policies of his son - these appear infrequently in his works. Typically, his language derives from more generalised theorising. (This is particularly true with respect to Lindsay's earlier poetry. His later works, notably Ane Satyre, demonstrate a more informed response to specific socio-political problems but, as we shall see, this discussion was rather uneasily married to a highly conventional presentation of kingship.) Patterns for good government were very often suggested by

---

18 W. Tod Ritchie, ed., The Bannatyne Manuscript, 4 Vols, (S.T.S., 1928-33), II, pp.242-45. Little is known of Kidd but Lindsay's mention of his name in The Testament of the Papyngo, suggests the two were contemporaneous.

their opposite. This is clearly brought out in Ane Satyre of the Thrie Estatis when Rex Humanitas ·· succumbs to Dame Sensualitie, the surrender of reason to appetite bringing him perilously close to the classic Platonic definition of a tyrant. This definition by antithesis is also found in The Dreme, when Dame Rememberance describes the misrule of "our infatuate heidis Insolent":

> Quhilkis in Iustice hes nocht bene delygent,
> Bot to gud counsall inobedient,
> Hauand small Ee vnto the comoun weill,
> Bot to thare singulare proffect euerilk deill.
> (905-10)

Her earlier introduction to the company of kings now languishing in Hell makes a similar point. These tyrants are being punished for a variety of crimes including wrongful conquest, oppression, adultery, incest and general debauchery (246-52). Together, these passages offer a clear illustration of a king's duties. The master of his thoughts and actions, he was diligently to administer justice in its widest sense, he was to protect the commonweal and he was to rule in accord with good counsel.[19] Above all, he was to eschew sin and vicious living. Examples *ad nauseam* could be produced to demonstrate how conventional a vision this was.[20] Perhaps one of the best is the Bannatyne Manuscript, a collection of verses compiled by George Bannatyne in 156 Bannatyne himself divided his work into five parts, the second of which, "conteneand verry singular ballatis full of wisdome and moralitie", consists of a significant section of works addressed to rulers, all of which amply illustrate the point.[21]

---

19 The symbiotic relationship between king and commonweal is more fully discussed in Chapter Six.

20 Mapstone has analysed no less than eight very different texts from the second half of the fifteenth century which all deal with this theme ("The Advice to Princes Tradition").

21 Bannatyne Manuscript, II, p.108.

* Although Bannatyne dated his MS 1568, Alisdair MacDonald has persuasively argued that it was largely gathered together in 1565-66. See "The Bannatyne Manuscript - A Marian Anthology" Innes Review, XXXVII, (1986) pp 36-47

That good kingship was crucially dependent upon good counsel was axiomatic to the authors of medieval and Renaissance kingship literature. "Nothing in government is more fitting for a king than to have good counsellors", wrote one fifteenth century Scottish chronicler, but such words could have graced the pages of any work on the subject.[22] Lindsay emphatically endorsed the traditional apophthegm:[23]

> But gude counsale, may no Prince lang indure:
> Wyrk with counsale, than sall thy work be sure.
> (The Testament of the Papyngo, 300-01)

This idea is more expansively treated in Ane Satyre where Rex Humanitas identifies it as one of the play's principal themes, declaring in his opening speech:

> Be I nocht rewlit by counsall and ressoun
> In dignitie I may nocht lang indure.
> (88-89)

It is not long before the action of the play asserts the truth of his words. While Dame Sensualitie's ensnarement of the King symbolizes the subjugation of his reason, the introduction of the Vices, "thrie knaves in cleithing counterfeit", signifies the subversion of good counsel (1634). Underlining the point, these false servants expressly banish Gude-Counsall from the King's presence (1635). The dramatic representation of Gude-Counsall brings to life its importance as a guiding political principle. His long exile from Scotland is explicitly equated with the country's misfortunes and it is only when he is reinstated that the political problems of the realm can be

---

22 The author here was Walter Bower, noted by Mason, "Kingship, Tyranny and the Right to Resist", p.132-33.

23 For a discussion of this proverb, ultimately derived from biblical authority but generally misquoted, see: Curt F. Büller, "Wirk alle thyng by Conseil", Speculum, XXIV, (1949) pp.410-12. For more on counsel and counsellors see below and Chapter Six.

rectified. As Divyne Correctioun proclaims in his opening speech (again recalling and reinforcing that of Rex Humanitas):

> ...quhen the king stands at his counsell sound,
> Then welth sall wax and plentie as he list
> And policie sall in his Realme abound.
> (1586-87)

The concept of counsel offered an attractive and arguably realistic mechanism for bridging the gulf between what was expected of the king and what he actually did. This ideal of consensus government operating within an ethical framework (rather than a constitutional or legal argument) was the most readily offered corrective to the abuse of power in Scotland during this period. Even Boece's catalogue of tyrannicide and deposition forms part of this tradition. In the preface to his translation, Bellenden makes it clear that later writers who see the work as evidence of the contractual nature of Scottish kingship miss the point, that point being the illustration of:

> ...how this realme salbe gouernit in iustice, and quhat personis ar necessair to bere auctoritie or office within this realme, and...throcht quhais corruppit counsale thi nobill anticessouris sum tymes wer abusit, and broucht to sik miserie that thai tynt...thair lyiff and triumphand dominioun.[24]

As we shall see in a later chapter, Lindsay was not wholly successful in uniting the traditional ideal of counsel - powerful yet hard to enforce - with a more rigorous programme for political and social reform. In Ane Satyre, Rex Humanitas's position in the second part of the play, especially with regard to his counsellors, becomes ill-defined to the point of ambiguity. Clearly, Lindsay was attempting some formalization, even re-definition, of the traditional relationship between king and counsellor. However, his reluctance - inability may not be too strong a word - to detract in any way from the central

---

24 Bellenden, Chronicles of Scotland, I, p.16. Buchanan is perhaps the most obvious of such writers but, for a more recent endorsement of the popular character of the Scottish monarchy, see: Matthew P. McDiarmid, "The Kingship of the Scots in their Writers", S.L.J., VI, (1979) pp.5-18.

importance of the king effectively reveals the powerful and continuing attraction of the traditional ideal. A similar point can be made with regard to Lindsay's treatment of the personal virtue of the king. That royal morality was the guardian of the country's well-being was another long established tenet of ethico-political discourse. This ultra-traditional view was vigorously expressed by Lindsay's not altogether rhetorical question:

> For quhow suld Prencis gouerne gret regionis
> That can nocht dewlie gyde thare awin personis?
> (The Testamnet of the Papyngo, 295-96)

Lindsay, like many of his contemporaries, constantly reiterated this idea, most obviously in Ane Satyre of the Thrie Estatis in which the personal corruption of the King corresponds to a period of national misgovernment. However, although the moral rehabilitation of Rex Humanitas in the first part of the play makes possible the political rehabilitation of John the Commonweal in the second, Lindsay's greatest concern was with the latter. But, as with the problem of counsel, the force of tradition and the limitations of an ethico-political vocabulary continued to ensure that great emphasis was placed upon the king. Surely this is even more remarkable when we consider that Ane Satyre was written at a time when there was no king upon the Scottish throne and little prospect of one for some time to come.

Before turning to a consideration of the virtues of Lindsay's ideal prince, it is as well to ponder some of his other, most basic, characteristics. Self-evidently, he was a man, fitted to rule by virtue of his years and his sex. Age and gender were frequently identified by contemporary commentators as impediments to the correct exercise of royal authority and, again, Lindsay was no exception to this.

By the sixteenth century, Scotland had become peculiarly accustomed to royal minorities. The reigns of James V and three of his

immediate predecessors all began with periods of minority rule and the period 1406-1528 saw over fifty years of regency government. The frequency of minority administrations was in many ways indicative of the strength of the Stewart dynasty and the patriotic conservatism of the nobility which supported it.[25] Yet, as Lindsay's poetry forcefully illustrates, minority rule, so often tolerated for the sake of political stability, was a prospect which aroused grave disquiet.[26] Obviously, Lindsay's opinion was shaped by his own experiences. Personal bitterness undoubtedly infuses the caustic descriptions of minority rule in The Dreme and The Complaynt. However, Lindsay's principal concern, like that of contemporary poets, lay less with his own grievances than with the neglect shown to the commonweal by the various regency governments. The character of John the Commonweal stresses the truth of the Biblical proverb, "Wo to the realme that hes ouir young ane king", and vows not to return until Scotland is ruled "Be wisedome of ane gude auld prudent king" (The Dreme, 1011 & 1005).[27] While bemoaning periods of minority rule, Lindsay did not offer any real solution to the problem. A 'some you win, some you lose' approach seems to characterise his attitude to the various regency administrations of his lifetime. Although the colourful pictures of

25 For the strength of the dynasty see: Brown, "The Exercise of Power", and for the conservatism of the aristocracy: Mason, "Kingship, Tyranny and the Right to Resist".

26 A group of three poems in The Bannatyne Manuscript all lament the youth of James V (Iesus Christ that deit on Tre, Now is our King in Tendir Aige, Rolling in my Remembrance, II, pp.245-51). An interesting exception to this general consensus is the author of The Complaynt of Scotland whose support for Mary of Guise's administration prevented him from identifying minority government as one of Scotland's problems. He even went so far as to explain why, despite the words of Isaiah, Mary's youth was not a scourge of God. Youth, he argued, was to be taken in the sense of ignorance or inconstancy. Cicero's injunction to look to virtue not age was more relevant to the Scots (A. M. Stewart, ed., The Complaynt of Scotland, c.1550, Robert Wedderburn (S.T.S., 1979) pp.23-24.)

27 C.f. Ecclesiasticus, X, 16 and Isaiah, III, 4.

corrupt regency rule referred to above are the more memorable, it is important to recall that he judged Albany successful and he must have had high hopes of the Earl of Arran. These might have appeared dashed after 1543 but Lindsay retained a dogged, not so say desperate, faith in the Governor. After 1547 and Beaton's assassination, he used The Tragedie of the Cardinal to portray "our rychteous Gouernour" as the guiless victim of Beaton's machinations, seduced with "sweit and subtell wordis", frustrated at every turn, and finally, his son in Beaton's hands, forced to accede to his wishes (127 & 205). When, six years later, he wrote The Monarche, Lindsay dedicated it, amongst others, to Arran, "our Prince, and Protectour" (28). However, despite the epithet, Arran was not a true king-figure in Lindsay's eyes. As had John the Commonweal in The Dreme, so Lindsay too held out for "ane gude auld prudent king".

With regard to gynecocracy, Lindsay's attitude was less consistent. His affirmation of "the traditional notion that men were divinely ordained to have preeminence over women" has been noted by historians, but his position is somewhat more complicated than this suggests.[28] Certainly, such an attitude seems conveyed by, for example, The Monarche:

> Ladyis no way I can commend
> Presumptuouslye quhilk doith pretend
> Tyll vse the office of ane kyng,
> Or Realmes tak in gouernyng,
> (3247-50)

However, Lindsay did not allow this belief to draw him into dangerous political waters muddied by ideas of resistance to female rule, and ultimately, of deposition. Indeed, when politically expedient, he was prepared to grant that Margaret Tudor's regency authority "was to hir

---

28 Richard L. Greaves, Theology and Revolution in the Scottish Reformation; Studies in the Thought of John Knox (Grand Rapids, Michigan, 1980) p.157.

appropriate" (The Testament of the Papyngo, 544). Admittedly, Margaret was only a female regent acting on behalf of a male king and this considerably predates The Monarche. But we are not dealing simply with attitudes changing over time. Despite his belief that "...all wemen, in thare degre,/ Suld to thare men subiectit be", Lindsay's endorsement of the traditional patriarchal response - even later in his career - was not always uncompromising (The Monarche, 1069-70). Sometimes, rather than actively oppose the rule of a woman, he was content to lament the absence of a king. That Mary Stewart was "our Quene, of Scotland Heretour" he seemingly accepted without question, viewing her reign as an unfortunate aberration to be endured in the expectation of future male rule (12). Significantly, however, he did not envisage Mary fulfilling any of the functions of a king. "I traist to see gude reformatione", he wrote, "From tyme we gett ane faithfull prudent kinge/ Quhilk knowis the treuth and his vocatione" (2605-07). Mary's principal role, in Lindsay's eyes, was to "Bring home tyll ws ane Kyng and Governour" (16). Marriage was accepted by Lindsay as natural and desirable for women and he was not willing to confront the problem of reconciling a queen's sovereign political authority with a wife's natural subjugation to her husband.[29] There are hints, however, that he was aware of the dilemma. For example, in The Monarche, finding his belief in the natural subjection of women confirmed by history, he noted:

> Quhow Quenis of moste hie degre
> Ar vnder moste subiectioun
> And sufferis moste correctioun.
> For thay, like birdis in tyll ane cage,
> Ar kepit ay vnder thirlage.
> (1064-68)

---

29 For a discussion of this problem, see: Constance Jordan, "Women's Rule in Sixteenth Century British Political Thought", Renaissance Quarterly, 40, (1987) pp.421-451.

Quite what examples, if any, Lindsay had in mind here is not clear and the idea is developed no further. Indeed, there were several very good reasons why Lindsay should be reluctant to press the issue. While virgin queens did not threaten the strength of the monarchy in the same way as married queens, before the trail-blazing example of Elizabeth Tudor, the idea was still a remarkably novel affront to the ideal of marriage, particularly as it was being developed in response to the Catholic ideal of female celibacy. Moreover, virgin queenship had serious dynastic implications which Scotland was anxious to avoid. The example of the ill-fated Maid of Norway, whose untimely death without issue had plunged the country into arguably the most traumatic period of her history, surely haunted the imagination of later generations. James V's well known despair on hearing the news of his daughter's birth must have been shared by the entire nation when, only six days later, the infant became Queen of Scots. Despite the fact that it was likely to create as many problems as it solved, a marriage settlement - be it French or English - seemed to offer the only solution and, as such, it was enthusiastically pursued almost from the day of Mary's birth.

To return to our earlier discussion of the ideal prince, over and above satisfying requirements of age and gender, he was also expected to be a paragon of personal virtue. When Erasmus declared that the felicity of the realm depended "upon the moral qualities of the one man alone", he was endorsing an extremely conventional piece of thinking that stretched back at least as far as Aristotle.[30] Unsurprisingly, Lindsay suscribed wholeheartedly to this idea. In The Dreme, Dame Rememberance attributes the miserable condition of Scotland to her

---

30 Lester K. Born, trans., The Education of a Christian Prince by Desiderius Erasmus (New York, 1965) p.163.

rulers:

> So I conclude, the causis principall
> Off all the trubyll of this Natioun
> Ar in to Prencis, in to speciall,
> (883-85)

Elsewhere in the poem, the idea is restated employing the common analogy derived from Aristotelian and Pauline texts of the human body. An image which Lindsay returned to in Ane Satyre, this related the condition of the body politic directly to that of its head.[31] The relationship between individual morality and public prosperity had two important aspects to it. On the one hand, it represented as extension of the universally accepted maxim that "ane man of vicious lyfe has ane vicious ending".[32] The quotation is taken from Bellenden's Preface to the Chronicles of Scotland, a work which vividly illustrates the truth of the saying, but it was a commonplace of kingship literature. The actions of a king, unlike those of other men, determined not only his own destiny but also that of his kingdom. Lindsay employs the adage, or something very similar, four times in his works, and in The Monarche, he uses the histories of the Assyrian rulers, Nimrod, Nynus, Semiramis and Sardanapalus to show that royal viciousness leads equally to personal disaster and national misfortune.[33] (In this respect, The Monarche can be considered an exotic version of Boece's more homegrown, though no less spectacular, tale.) As has been pointed out, this interconnectedness is perfectly conveyed by the allegorical framework of Ane Satyre which depends largely upon thematic correspondence to make its point.[34]

---

31 The Dreme, 877-82 & Ane Satyre, 1045-46. This is more fully discussed in Ernst Kantorowitcz, The King's Two Bodies: A Study in Medieval and Political Theology (Princeton, 1957) pp.207-32.

32 Bellenden, The Chronicles of Scotland, I, p.19.

33 The Dreme, 1107, Squyer Meldrum, 1501-02 & The Monarche, 2847-48 & 5873.

34 David Reid, "Rule and Misrule in Lindsay's *Thrie Estatis* and

On the other hand, there is also a more precisely defined bond between the personal morality of the king and the welfare of the realm with the former being viewed as an example and inspiration to the population at large. Although Ane Satyre provides no specific illustrations of this idea, the theme is dealt with, at some considerable length, by Veritie:

> For quhy subiects do follow day and nicht
> Thair governours in vertew and vyce.
> Ye ar the lamps that sould schaw them the light
> To leid them on this sliddrie rone of yce.
> *Mobile mutatur semper cum principe vulgus.*
> And gif ye wald your subiectis war weill geuin,
> Then verteouslie begin the dance your sell;
> Going befoir, then they anone I wein,
> Sall follow you, eyther till heuin or hell:
> Kings suld of gude exempils be the well.
> Bot gif that your strands be intoxicate,
> In steid of wyne thay drink the poyson fell:
> Thus pepill follows ay thair principate.
> *Sic luceat lux vestra coram hominibus vt*
> *videant opera vestra bona.*
>
> (1047-60)

At this point, we should perhaps consider the exact nature of these princely virtues, particularly as articulated by Lindsay. The traditional canon of virtue, applicable to all humanity, was centred on the four cardinal and three theological virtues: justice, temperance, fortitude, prudence or wisdom, faith, hope and charity. Much kingship literature consists of an exposition of these qualities, generally but not always with reference to government. A good example of this is Book VII of John Ireland's Meroure of Wyssdome.[35] Similarly, Lindsay's "Exhortatioun" follows this highly conventional pattern. Combining a

---

Pitcairne's *Assembly*", S.L.J., XI, (1984) pp.5-24. Reid shows that there are some specific instances of how the king's failings effected the realm; e.g. the drain on the Exchequer of keeping a mistress. In general, however, the direct relationship between cause and effect is ignored (p.8 & n.10).

35 Craig McDonald, ed., Johannes de Irlandias, Meroure of Wyssdome, Books VI & VII (S.T.S., 1990).

commendation to virtue with the usual charge to rule with counsel (in itself often classified as a 'virtue'), Lindsay besought James to:

> Tak Manlie curage, and leif thyne Insolence,
> And vse counsale of nobyll dame Prudence.
> Founde the ferelie on faith and fortytude:
> Drawe to thy courte Iustice and Temporance;
> And to the commoun weill haue attendance.
> And, also, I beseik thy Celestitude,
> Hait vicious men, and lufe thame that ar gude;
> And ilk flatterer thow fleme from thy presence,
> And fals reporte out of thy courte exclude.
> (The Dreme, 1064-72)

In The Complaynt, Lindsay suggests that this hope has been realized and he rejoices to see James free of evil counsellors and ruling with the support of "The foure gret verteous Cardinalis" (379). The longevity of this type of political imagery can be seen from Alexander Scott's 1562 New Year address to Mary Queen of Scots which urges her, "Found on the first four vertewus cardinall".[36] In addition, Lindsay notes the benign influence of "lusty lady Chastitie", who, foreshadowing the allegorical drama of Ane Satyre, "Hes baneist Sensualitie" (391 & 392). Interestingly, Lindsay also introduces "Dame Ryches", a rather worldly companion for this company of ladies. However, the clumsy personification clearly expresses the importance of national prosperity and, given the petitionary nature of the poem as a whole, her presence is not so inappropriate.

The standard repertoire of virtues was freqently extended. For example, the poem, This Hindir Night, lists no less than twenty-one virtues to be pressed into royal service.[37] Very often the canon was enlarged with identifiably chivalric virtues. (Although it should be said that these generally represented a particular interpretation of the standard seven. For example, physical courage was one

---

36 Ane New Yeir Gift to the Quene Mary, Quhen Scho Come First Hame, (25) in James Cranstoun, ed., The Poems of Alexander Scott (S.T.S., 1896) pp.1-8. Also: Bannatyne Manuscript, II, pp.235-41.

37 Ibid., II, pp.228-31.

manifestation of fortitude, largesse one of charity.) The Porteous of Noblenes, for instance, (a translation of Alain Chartier's *Breviare de Noblesse* published in 1508 by Chepman and Millar), identified twelve virtues befitting noblemen including honour, worthiness, courtesy, cleanliness (both of person and thought), sobriety (a very specific form of temperance) and largesse.[38] Moreover, aspirations to virtue were themselves presented in terms of chivalric undertakings as when, in Bellenden's Proheme apon the Cosmographe, Virtue describes her life as "ane ithand [diligent] chevalry".[39]

When Lindsay considers specific examples of kingship in The Testament of the Papyngo, he too elaborates upon kingly virtue. Obviously, the portraits penned in this poem are intended as moral exemplars which tell us more about expectations of kingship than about actual Stewart kings. Nevertheless, while this remains their primary importance in a discussion of kingship, they are in line with what we know of the monarchs in question. Thus, in addition to some standard praise of James I's prudence and justice, Lindsay also applauds his "Ingyne" and "Eloquence" - a reference to the King's literary talent (431 & 432). Lindsay's sketch of James IV, "the glore of princelie gouernyng", has already been discussed in some detail and it has been suggested that while specific circumstances encouraged this particularly laudatory epithet, Lindsay was not too wide of the mark (504). Of those virtues ascribed to James IV, two merit particular consideration. Firstly, Lindsay was at pains to recall how James was loved by his subjects, able to ride through the kingdom without fear of molestation. This was a traditionally cherished Aristotelian ideal,

---

38 The Porteous of Nobleness in W. A. Craigie, ed., The Asloan Manuscript, 2 vols, (S.T.S., 1923-24) I, pp.171-84.

39 Bannatyne Manuscript, II, pp.9-19. Also: George Watson, ed., The Mar Lodge Translation of the History of Scotland by Hector Boece, (S.T.S., 1946) I, pp.3-13, (187).

love being accepted as a more powerful hold over a population than fear. In response to the factional struggles of the minority, Lindsay was clearly eager to press the point upon James V and, in addition to stressing this aspect of his father's government, he also exhorted him to "Trait ilk trew Barroun as he war thy brother," handling their feuds with justice and mercy (332). (Lindsay's observation that James's treatment of his lords would determine their readiness to turn out in defence of the realm seems strangely prophetic given the circumstances of the Solway Moss campaign.) Secondly, Lindsay carefully gilded James IV's chivalric reputation, presenting an evocative account of a glittering Scottish court, renowned throughout Europe. Such a representation of royal virtue is not at all typical of Lindsay. It was probably included both in acknowledgment of an unmistakable aspect of James's character and in recognition of the fact that his son entertained similar aspirations.[40] Even here though, there is a degree of ambivalence as Lindsay goes on to suggest that all earthly courts, even one as splendid as this, are tawdry in comparison with that of Christ. This interest in chivalric material occurs, significantly enough, in a poem written at the very outset of Lindsay's heraldic career - later, he would become increasingly uneasy with certain aspects of the chivalrous ideology. He is, for example, extremely unusual in the attention - or lack of it - he pays that most chivalric of virtues, largesse. Apart from proclaiming James IV, "the lampe of liberalytie", there is no mention of this quality in his discussion of kingship - particularly striking when we remember that as a herald, he would have been required to 'cry largesse' on occassions of royal show.

The devaluation of chivalric, specifically martial, accomplishment which we see in Lindsay's works was partially fostered by the spirit of

---

40 James V's attitude to chivalry and chivalric pursuits is analysed in Chapter Five.

Christian humanism with its stress upon scholarship and spiritual virtue. Within the traditional ethico-political framework, these qualities represented the key not only to Christian salvation but also to good government on earth. That Lindsay was aware of this type of thinking and influenced by it is immediately apparent when we consider his attitude to the education of the prince. While Lindsay viewed kingship as a divine gift, this did not mean that the correct exercise of that gift could not be learned. Within the conventional ethical framework of political discussion, the principal purpose of a prince's education was the inculcation of regal virtue. The relationship between prosperity, wisdom, virtue, education and God is nicely expressed in the short verse, Quha Wilbe Riche, worth quoting in full:

> Quha wilbe riche haif E to honor ay
> For riches followis honour evir mair
> To honour wisdome is the nerrest way
> And wisdome to vertew is the verray way
> And vertew cumis of science and of lair
> And science cumis only of god and grace
> Conquest trow gud lyfe travell and businece.[41]

The idea is forcibly expressed in Ane Satyre of the Thrie Estatis which begins with the description of Rex Humanitas as "*Tanquam tabula rasa*" and goes on to illustrate Lindsay's profound concern with the whole issue of royal education (224).[42]

Lindsay's preoccupation with the topic stemmed not only from humanist thinking but also from his own experiences. The upheavals of James V's minority created a deep impression upon Lindsay and he reserved some of his strongest condemnation for those who had interrupted the young King's education, declaring:

---

41 Bannatyne Manuscript, II, p.191.

42 'Lindsay's *Satyre of the Thrie Estatis*...clearly presented a dramatic version of the *speculum principis* tradition', Lyall, "Politics and Poetry in Fifteenth and Sixteenth Century Scotland", S.L.J., III, (1976) p.23.

> I gyf thame to the deuyll of hell,
> Quhilk first deuysit that counsell.
> I wyll nocht say that it was treassoun,
> Bot I dar sweir, it was no reassoun.
> (The Complaynt, 149-52)

As Lindsay was so closely involved in James's upbringing, he would obviously have had an active interest in this unsatisfactory situation. Unfortunately, Lindsay does not reveal what Dunbar taught his young charge, referring with infuriating brevity only to his instruction in "vertew and science" (136). Nevertheless, this reference with its stress upon the acquisition of virtue is in itself suggestive, proclaiming virtue the keystone of royal - indeed of all - education.

Literary discussion of royal education has a long and not wholly honourable history.[43] For example, that key text, the enormously popular, Secretum Secretorum, was not, as it purported to be, Aristotle's advice to a youthful Alexander, but in fact an Arabic work introduced into Europe in the twelfth century. The concern with education found throughout the middle ages reached, if possible, new heights during the Renaissance. The popularity of instructional literature and its currency at the Scottish Court is strongly conveyed in Lindsay's poem, The Testament of the Papyngo:

> I grant, thy grace gettis mony one document,
> Be famous Fatheris predicatioun,
> With mony notabyll Narratioun
> Be plesande Poetis, in style Heroycall,
> Quhow thow suld gyde thy Seait Imperiall.
> (236-40)[44]

Indeed, the Papyngo's almost apologetic tone gives the impression that James was heartily sick of such exhortations. However, these lines demonstrate quite conclusively that the Parrot's Epistle to James V, albeit delivered in "barbour rusticall", was intended to stand

---

43 For a brief history, see: Born, Erasmus, The Education Of a Christian Prince, Introduction.

44 For the use of the word 'document' to refer to a work of instruction, see: Mapstone, "The Advice to Prince's Tradition", pp.61-62.

alongside such other works (246). The "Epystyl of the Papyngo directit to kyng Iames the Fyft" is Lindsay's own 'mini-mirror-for-princes' providing a more detailed account of the education he considered suitable for a king. Utilizing the well-understood shorthand, Lindsay was able to proclaim "vertew" that to which, "abufe all vther thyng", James must turn his attention (292). In particular, he was urged to honour God; to work with counsel; to rule with justice and mercy and to treat his nobles with fraternal solicitude. Lindsay also entreated James to study:

> Wald thow, ilk day studie, bot half one hour,
> The Regiment of princelie gouernyng,
> To thy peple it war ane plesand thyng.
> (304-06)

When we recollect the rigorous time-table devised by Buchanan for the young James VI (Greek before breakfast, Cicero, Livy and history before lunch and then in the afternoon, composition, arthimetic, cosmography, logic and rhetoric), thirty minutes' daily study does not seem an unduly arduous programme.[45] Perhaps this is due to Lindsay's recollections of James's boyhood diligence (or lack thereof) but at least it serves to indicate Lindsay's support for an academic education. Given the numerous works within the *De Regimine Principum* genre, it is impossible to decide which - if any - of these Lindsay had in mind at this point.[46] The same is true with respect to Lindsay's reference to chronicle material:

---

45 P. Hume Brown, George Buchanan: Humanist and Reformer, (Edinburgh, 1890) p.252.

46 One volume of this type was Thomas Hoccleve's Regiment of Princes (Frederick, J. Furnival, ed., Hoccleve: Works (E.E.T.S., 1887). Hamer has noticed the striking similarity between the opening lines of this and of The Monarche (Works, III, p.255) and further echoes of Hoccleve's work can be found in Lindsay's writing; cf. Regiment of Princes, 2553-54 & The Testament of the Papyngo, 290-91. It is, therefore, probable that Lindsay knew Hoccleve's work but whether it was to this that he referred here remains unclear; it could equally be a reference to the *De Regimine Principum* surviving in various manuscripts, including the *Liber Pluscardensis*, printed by Chepman and Millar as The Buke of Gude Counsale to the King, (W. A. Craigie,

> The Cronecklis to knaw I the exhorte
> Quhilk may be myrrour to thy Maiestie:
> Thare sall thov fynd boith gude & euyll reporte
> Off euerilk Prince, efter his qualytie:
> (311-12)[47]

Here, Lindsay mentions the legendary line of Scottish kings descended from Fergus I, claiming that James V was the one hundred and fifth of this line.[48] This accords with the most detailed biographical account of the dynasty, that provided by Boece in his *Scotorum Historiae*. However, Lindsay's assertion that fifty five kings had been killed is not in line with Boece. Why the disparity? We know from his Armorial Register that Lindsay had a detailed knowledge of the work, at least by 1542. However, he was writing here in 1530, only four years after Boece had completed his work and before Bellenden's translation (begun in 1531). Clearly, at this stage of his career, Lindsay knew of the work but not its details - a comment perhaps on the stir it caused at Court. The importance of historical example as instruction was a fundamental tenet of the *speculum principis* genre. It was acknowledged as such by Gilbert Hay among others and it lay at the heart of the Scotorum Historiae. As illustrated both by The Testament of the Papyngo and The Monarche, Lindsay too employed history for didactic purposes. In the former, his declared aim was the illustration of the fickleness of fortune and the transience of worldly fame but his depiction of the fate of Scottish kings from Robert III to James IV

---

ed., The Maitland Manuscript, 2 vols, (S.T.S., 1919-27) I, pp. 115-25, II, pp.74-91).

47 The importance of these lines is illustrated by their repetition (omitting line 312) in Ane Satyre, (1896-98).

48 For the mythical origins of Scottish kingship, see: Marjorie Drexler, "Fluid Prejudice: Scottish Origin Myths in the Later Middle Ages" in Joel Rosenthal, & Colin Richmond, ed., People, Politics and Community in the Later Middle Ages (Gloucester & New York, 1987) pp.60-76 and Roger Mason, "Scotching the Brut: Politics, History and National Myth in Sixteenth Century Britain", in Mason, ed., Scotland and England 1286-1815 (Edinburgh, 1987) pp.60-84.

served to provide their descendant with a pattern upon which to model himself. Unfortunately, we look to Lindsay in vain for more than the most basic of pedagogic programmes. The detailed bibliographies suggested by other humanist educationalists are not a feature of Lindsay's much less sophisticated work.[49]

One effect of prescribing a humanist-orientated education for the Prince (and by extension for the aristocracy) was the promotion of what has been described as the secularization of wisdom and the erosion of the traditional boundaries between a lay education on the one hand and a clerical education on the other. Of course, the differences had never been quite as precise as this somewhat oversimplified statement suggests. There was some considerable feeling that the education of the chivalric hero, the cultivation of mind and body in preparation for worldly adventure, was an indispensable element of the medieval Romance. Moreover, the derivation of the favoured curriculum from the *speculum principis* literature of the period ensured that it included instruction in the liberal arts along side a physical and military training.[50] Nevertheless, the English humanist, Richard Pace's well-known anecdote concerning the old man who would rather see his son hang than study letters contains an element of truth concerning aristocratic expectations in Scotland as well as England.[51] John Mair, for example, criticized both the Scottish nobility who educated their sons in

---

49 Although he did not offer a detailed consideration of the scholarly works appropriate for a prince, it has been argued that the stories with which Lindsay regaled the young James V (The Dreme, 31-46) contributed to a well-devised educational programme (Williams, "Lyndsay's 'Antique' and 'Plesand' Stories", p.163). However, while Williams is right to draw attention to Lindsay's preoccupation with the theme of education, this does seem to be making much of references to what were traditional, popular tales.

50 Madelaine Pelner Cosman, The Education of the Hero in Arthurian Romance (Chapel Hill, 1966) p.202.

51 Frank Manley, & R. S. Sylvester, ed. & trans., Richard Pace, De Fructu Qui ex Doctrina Percipitor (1517) (New York, 1967) p.14.

neither letters nor morals and the farmers who trained their sons only to serve some great lord.[52] Lindsay too suggests that standards of education were poor. In seeking to provide a better-educated clergy, he urges the King to "Gar Lordis send thare sonnes,.../To Seik science, and famous sculis frequent" (The Testament of the Papyngo, 1029-30). Aberdeen University was established in part with an eye to the education of the laity but, in general, the influence of educationalists remained patchy. The increasing number of literate, non-noble laymen entering government had their own impact but really did little to challenge the entrenched socio-political position of the aristocracy. The erosion of traditional values was an extremely slow process and it would be wrong to think of the Renaissance as presaging any sort of decisive break in educational culture. As we have seen, new ideas were certainly introduced (being picked up by men such as Lindsay), but it is the coexistence of different attitudes rather than the replacement of one by another which really distinguishes the period.

While the anti-martial thrust of humanist (and indeed scholastic) scholarship rendered it potentially antagonistic to the chivalric code, in practice many educationalists accepted the traditionally lauded skills so long as they were not a cause of vainglorious pride and they ranged alongside, even subordinate to, the inculcation of virtue through study. Lindsay fitted into this general pattern. As illustrated above, he was highly critical of those who set martial skill above intellectual - and hence ethical - development. Into the mouths of the Douglases and their supporters, he put a scornful parody of their words:

> We think thame verray naturail fulis,
> That lernis ovir mekle at the sculis,

---

52 Mair, A History of Greater Britain, p.47.

> Schir, ye mon leir to ryn and speir,
> And gyde yow lyke ane man of weir.
> (The Complaynt, 165-68)

We might think that Lindsay endorsed Mair's opinion that military training was "in nowise essential for the constitution of a true king" were it not for the fact that elsewhere he appears unable to reject out of hand the idea that the king ought to be trained in the martial arts.[53] Indeed, in Ane Satyre, Divine Correctioun echoes the very words of the irresponsible Douglases. The king must, he declares,

> ...leirne to rin ane heavie spear,
> That he into the tyme of wear,
> May follow at the cheace.
> (1848-50)

In the same speech, Correctioun also commends hunting and hawking to Rex Humanitas, declaring them "honest pastimes for ane King" (1845). These words echo those in The Testament of the Papyngo where James IV's "knightly game" is described as "pastyme accordyng for ane kyng" (502 & 503). In a chivalric court culture, knightly accomplishments are court arts. Lindsay even goes so far as to grant such pursuits divine sanction. "Halkyng, hountyng, armes and leiful armour/ Preordinat ar, be God for thy plesour", the Parrot tells James V, commenting also upon his ability to learn music, riding and the handling of weapons (274-75). Significantly, if not entirely helpfully, she concludes, "Amange the rest, schir lerne to be ane king" (287). Such phraseology may reveal infuriatingly little about this process, but it does demonstrate that Lindsay did not consider the chivalrous pursuits discussed above as the essentials of kingship but, rather as adjuncts to it, recreational rather than functional in character. (It must be said, however, that Lindsay seems undecided on the role of martial skill which was sometimes seen as a necessary skill, sometimes as a suitable pastime - an ambiguity engendered by his ambivalence regarding the

---

53 Ibid., p.183.

whole issue of 'king-as-commander'.[54]) In short, with respect to the type of recreation appropriate for the king, Lindsay's position was one of tolerant indulgence. In Ane Satyre, Divine Correctioun even licensed Solace

> ...to sing,
> To dance, to play at Chesse and Tabils
> To reid Stories and mirrie fabils,
> For pleasure of our King.
> (1835-38)

While upholding the fundamental precepts of the humanist outlook, Lindsay, characteristically pragmatic, was prepared to sacrifice some of its ascetic rigour for the sake of a more attractive, more realistic, call.[55] Lindsay was not unusual in this. Kidd described music as "exercitioun most regal" and Stewart recommended such "honest playis" as "halking, hunting and archery/ Iusting And Cheiss".[56] The latter even endorsed cards and dice but not if motivated by greed and only then in the company of noblemen or the Queen-Dowager.

Lindsay's attitude to education, specifically to the role of martial accomplishment, had important implications for his treatment of the second traditionally accepted purpose of kingship, namely the defence of the realm. Here, it is interesting to consider a contemporary poem by William Stewart which in many ways sounds like Lindsay but which gives primary place to this second aspect of kingship:

> I the beseik againis thy lust to stryue
> And loufe thy God aboife all maner of thing,
> And him imploir, now in thy yeiris ying,

---

54 See below and Chapter Six.

55 This has been seen, surely inaccurately, simply as evidence of the play's essential geniality; the homely folk wisdom acting as an attractive corrective to the abstract concepts of justice articulated elsewhere (Reid, "Rule and Misrule", pp.14-15).

56 Kidd, The Rich Fontane of Hailfull Sapience, 83 & Stewart, Sir sen men ar of diuers sorts, 16, 17-18 (Bannatyne Manuscript, II, 242-45 & 256-57).

> To grant the grace thy folk to defend,
> Quhilk he hes geven the in gouerning
> In peax and honour to thy lyvis end.
> (Precelland Prince, 3-8)[57]

Although justice, with all its connotations, was Lindsay's principal theme, he could not dismiss entirely the idea of king as defender of his people. Indeed, Scotland was peculiarly attuned to this aspect of kingship. The conventional belief in a king's duty to defend his realm was necessarily strong in a country which comparatively recently had come perilously close to conquest by an external power and the continuing threat posed by English claims to suzerainity only served to strengthen this belief. Scottish political expectations demanded not only a king who was wise and virtuous, but a kingdom which was independent and free. This was powerfully articulated by the great chronicles of the medieval period. Writers such as Fordun and Bower supplied the basic historical framework, while others, notably Barbour and Blind Hary, rallied the Scottish spirit in defence of this ideal. We should, however, beware of viewing this as a purely medieval phenomenon. An acclaimed humanist such as Hector Boece was equally capable of producing a stirring epic of valour in the cause of liberty. As King Eugenius's eve-of-battle speech proclaims:

> Oure eldaris quhilkis began this realme with continewall labour, and brocht the samyn to oure dayis, commandit thair posterite to defend thair fredome, quhilk is maist dulce tresoure and heavinly gift in erde.[58]

However, as Lindsay was all too aware, one of the factors most often responsible for Scotland's social and political problems was incessant warfare. Martial endeavour, therefore, represented an incongruous blue-print for virtue. Furthermore, Boece's vision gave rise to several contradictions which could not easily be reconciled. The principal of these, frequently recognized yet never resolved by Boece

---

57 Ibid., II, pp.231-32.

58 Bellenden, Chronicles of Scotland, I, p.255.

himself, was that "Peace ingeneris riches, and ryches insolence, and insolence werre".[59] The solution, according to Boece, was a programme of disciplined austerity calculated to maintain the population's moral and physical integrity. Although by no means universally endorsed, this assessment appears to have enjoyed some considerable popularity in the 1530s.[60] But, in the last analysis, it proved too illusory a framework to sustain a conceptualization of either kingship or national identity. This became painfully obvious to the Scots after 1542 when the death of the king, ignominious defeat and virtual semi-occupation by an enemy army, all imparted a hollow ring to Boece's self-confident exposition of Scottish independence. It is not surprizing, therefore, that when Lindsay wrote Ane Satyre of the Thrie Estatis in 1552, he virtually ignored the theme of 'king-as-commander' and concentrated instead upon his favourite leitmotif, justice. But that he was unable to accept as the essence of kingship the symbolization of armed struggle in the name of political independence is also discernible in Lindsay's earlier works. When, in The Dreme, he urged his king to "Tak Manlie curage, and leif thyne Insolence," it was not in order to don his battle armour, but rather to "Drawe to thy courte Iustice and Temporance/ And to the commoun weill have attendance" (1064 & 1067-68). In Lindsay's mind, the ideal king was armed with the sword of justice rather than that of war. In The Monarche, some of his fiercest opprobium is reserved for Ninus who was not only the first idolater but, driven by his "Pride, Covatyce, and vaine glore," was also the first to engage in war (2014). By duplicating this line to explain the bellicosity of contemporary Christian princes, Lindsay affiliates the

59 Ibid., I, p.306.

60 John Mair for one dwelt more on 'the lives of men who were famed for their piety...than those of warriors, to the end that the reader may feel his heart grow warm within him and strengthen himself with this spiritual marrow' (A History of Greater Britain, p.94).

morality of Francis I, Charles V and Henry VIII with that of the pagan Ninus (5395). (Lindsay also compares the conduct of the Infidel with that of the noble princes of Christendom and found the latter wanting.) The spectacle of war waged amongst Christians represented a particularly offensive violation of Christian sensibilities and Lindsay was especially sensitive to the problem. Not only was it considered at some length in The Monarche, but in Ane Satyre, Folly awards one of his caps to kings whose worldly pride and ambition clearly mark them out as one of his own. Commenting on Europe's pugnacious leaders, he asks:

> Is this fraternal charitie
> Or furious folie, quhat say ye?
> (4582-83)

And, answering his own question, replies:

> I think it is folie be Gods mother
> Ilk Christian Prince to ding doun vther.
> (4586-87)

There are two distinct yet interrelated aspects to Lindsay's pacificism. Firstly, as illustrated above, it was an extremely conservative expression of faith in the medieval ideal of Christendom united under the Cross and the Papacy.[61] Secondly, as we shall see, it was a recognition of the political problems and social dislocation thrown up by war. This was not in itself particularly novel, others - notably John Mair - were engaged in a similar debate, but for Lindsay it was refashioned in what one commentator has called "the new language which linked peace and the commonweal."[62]

---

61 While this vision had always been vunerable to experience (rescued only by the doctrine of the Just War) the sixteenth century saw increasing pressures upon it in the shape of humanist idealism and the idea of *Christianismus renascens*, the need to combat Protestantism and the emergence of more secularized states with conflicting national interests. For a discussion of this plus a look at some of the responses it spawned, see: Walter F. Bense, "Paris Theologians on War and Peace, 1521-1529", Church History, 41, (1972) pp.168-185.

62 Ben Lowe, "War and the Commonweal in Mid-Tudor England", Sixteenth Century Journal, XXI, no.2, (1990) pp.171-191, p.171. See Chapter Six.

Yet Lindsay was unable to shake off completely traditional chivalric assumptions relating to the martial character of the king.[63] Fully attuned to conventional attitudes, Lindsay did on occasion flatter James in chivalric terms referring to his "Merciall dedis dyng of memorie", and wishing him "Glore, honour, laude, tryumphe, & victorie" (The Testament of the Papyngo, 238 & 228).[64] This endorsement of chivalric values dates from the late 1520s, but even when he wrote The Monarche in 1553, Lindsay was still failing fully to demythologize the concept of the glorious warrior. Stabrobates, it is true, is engaged in the legitimate defence of his realm against the "ambitious, wyckit" Semiramis, and yet, the description of his battle preparations evoke the spirit of medieval Romance rather than of sober humanist treatise:

> Than Stawrobates, wyse and wycht,
> Come fordwart, lyke ane nobyll knycht,
> With mony one thousand speir and scheild,
> Arrayit Royallie on the feild,
> Thinkand he wald his land defend,
> Or in the Battle mak ane end.
> (3089-94)

The account of mass slaughter and suffering which follows only serves to confound this stirring depiction of military heroism. Lindsay, however, gives no indication of deliberate irony and seems to have been unaware of the paradox.

Even the most pacifist of authors could not, however, deny the right of the king to muster the nation in legitimate self-defence. Given recent history and the politics of the mid-sixteenth century, this was particularly relevant to Scotland. This again brought out

---

63 Lindsay did not reject all aspects of the chivalric ideology. Indeed, some of them represented the foundations of his thinking with regard to the Commonweal, see Chapter Six.

64 James was similarly flattered in The Complaynt (456), although on this occasion the compliment may be intended ironically.

Lindsay's essential pragmatism. Thus, despite his genuine horror of war, he had Gude-Counsall teach Rex Humanitas, "Now in peace ye sould provyde for weirs" (2557). There was more to Gude-Counsall's advice than practical foresight. The point of such preparations was the assessment of the country's armed strength, an exercise designed to remove the overly onerous military obligation borne by the commons. Clearly and unsurprizingly, Lindsay was concerned with the social implications of war as well as the ethical. With regard to national defence, we should note that when Lindsay criticizes the warring princes of Europe, he includes Scotland but qualifies this by implying that the Scots had been engaged in the proper defence of their country (The Monarche, 5401-02). Political circumstances after 1542 meant that it was impossible for Lindsay to identify the king with this struggle but, in any case, the evidence of his work suggests that this was not an identification which he was keen to make. In fact, in The Monarche, Lindsay goes on to consider that the only solution to interminable Anglo-Scottish warfare was some form of union (5410-11).[65] Clearly, neither Lindsay's patriotism nor his conception of kingship was inextricably bound up with the Stewart dynasty - particularly as a symbol of Scottish freedom - and his views, therefore, offered a potent corrective to the conceptualization of the armed king as symbol of the political autonomy of the kingdom.

Lindsay's poetry is not only a valuable source for ideas concerning kingship, it also tells us a great deal about the position of courtiers and conceptions of service within Renaissance court culture. As discussion of the king took place largely within an ethical matrix, so too did that of his servants and the courtier's moral character assumed primary significance. When the king in the

---

65 This is discussed in greater detail in Chapter Six.

fifteenth century poem, The Thrie Prestis of Peblis, asked, "Quhat man in hous war meit with him to dwell/ Of wisdome for to gif him counsel", the answer again referred to the idea of virtue and Lindsay's advice to James V, to "Hait vicious men and lufe thame that ar gude", reiterates a time-honoured precept (The Dreme, 1071)[66]. Again, however, we must not treat such platitudes as hackneyed moralizing but instead appreciate their fundamental importance.

All those who surrounded the king were expected to reinforce his virtuous rule and, as this suggests, there was no real distinction between counsellor and courtier. This is clearly demonstrated by the classic Renaissance discussion presented in Castiglione's *Il Cortegiano* (1528):

> In my opinion...the end of the perfect courtier...is to win for himself the mind and favour of the prince he serves that he can and always will tell him the truth about all he wishes to know...And if he knows that his prince is of a mind to do something unworthy, he should be in a position to dare to oppose him, and make courteous use of the favour his good qualities have won to remove every evil intention and persuade him to return to the path of virtue.[67]

A similar point is made by the courtiers in Ane Satyre of the Thrie Estatis. Here, the importance of moral rectitude is ironically underlined by Wantoness's artful question:

> Am I nocht worthie till avance,
> That am sa gude a page,
> And that sa spedelie can rin
> To tyst my maister vnto sin?
> (453-56)

Wantonness and his companions are eventually excused their ignorant viciousness and although it is not they who advance in the royal service but the much more obvious 'virtues', Chastitie and Gude-Counsall, it is clear that all those who serve the King, even those

---

66 T. D. Robb, ed., The Thrie Prestis of Peblis how thai told thar Talis, (S.T.S., 1920) pp.797-98.

67 G. Bull, trans., B. Castiglione, The Book of the Courtier (London, 1967) p.284-85.

licenced to provide "mirth and lawfull mirrines", must operate within the same moral dimension as their royal master (1843). "To tyst [the King] vnto sin" is a crime which can be committed by courtier and counsellor alike.

Although in an ideal world, all courtiers would possess the moral qualities to enhance the virtuous rule of their sovereign, in practice this was not the case. It was, therefore, equally important for the King to choose his counsel wisely and to guard against the "barnes of Baliall" (Testament of the Papyngo, 160). This is amusingly conveyed by Lindsay in his poem, The Confessioun of Bagsche. It was, as the King's old dog readily admits, his misdeeds which aroused the attention of his sovereign and secured his position at Court:

> Noctwistanding my wickitnes,
> In Court I gat gret audience
> (47-48)

Thereafter, the hound's career was characterized by arrogance, brutality, and ingratitude to former protectors. Even when finally brought to account, Bagsche was pardoned his crimes by an over-indulgent king. The old hound is made to confess his past misdeeds with an engaging frankness which arouses not only sympathy for his present plight but chuckles at the bloody shirts which were the result of many an antic. Our indulgence, however, like that of the king, is misplaced as, in this way, Lindsay illustrates both the dangerous and superficial nature of courtly charm and the responsibility of the King to ensure that the virtue of which he is the fount flows throughout his Court.

In that the virtue of both king and courtier was directed towards Christian salvation, there existed many similarities between the two. "The King", as Ireland wrote, "suld nocht use the counsale of synnaris and euill lyffaris or wykit men".[68] On the contrary, he should look to

68 Ireland, Meroure of Wyssdome, Book VII, p.163.

the "trew, wise and old". Age and experience were frequently cited as necessary qualifications for counsel and the fault of the King in the tale told by the second of the 'Thrie Prestis' was that "Hee luifit over weil yong counsel" (456). In addition to this and beyond the reiteration of universal moral qualities, we do find some more specific examinations of the qualities appropriate to royal servants. The Meroure of Wyssdome, for example, includes a long list of those unsuited to offer counsel (drawn from Chaucer's Tale of Melibee) which although ethically orientated does attempt to explain more precisely why fools, flatterers and drunkards make bad advisors.[69] Similarly, The Governaunce of Princes recommends sixteen specific virtues for officers and judges, ten for royal messengers and six for the King's Secretary.[70]

Virtue might guarantee good service, but what guaranteed virtue? Traditionally, nobility of blood was perceived as the distinguishing mark of the virtuous, the idea being that nobility was instituted as a means whereby the virtuous might govern the unruly postlapsarian population.[71] However, the difficulties of reconciling noble virtue on the one hand and noble blood on the other were often too severe to be ignored. Moralists and theologians frequently adopted an uncompromising stand on the issue. For example, Mair declared:

> There is absolutely no true nobility but virtue and the evidence of virtue. That which is commonly called nobility is naught but a windy thing of human devising.[72]

---

69 Ibid., pp.162-63.

70 Hay, The Governaunce of Princes, pp.155-62.

71 This was the explanation for the origins of knighthood found in Ramon Lull's influential The Buke of the Ordre of Chyvalry, A. T. P. Bales, ed., (E.E.T.S., 1926). A version of this, The Buke of the Ordre of Knychthede was translated by Gilbert Hay for Scottish consumption (Gilbert of the Hayes Prose Manuscript, II, pp.1-70).

72 Mair, A History of Greater Britain, p.46.

Others, however, were less dogmatic and the relationship between virtue and nobility was more widely viewed as one of association rather than direct causation. Those who were nobly born were more likely to be virtuous, indeed, were obliged by their birth so to be:

> It is contrair the lawis of nature
> A gentill man to be degenerate,
> Nocht following of his progenitoure
> The worthy reule, and the lordly estate.
> (Henryson, Orpheus and Eurydice, 8-11)

The two views operated in tension: on the one hand nobility was the reward of the virtuous, while on the other virtue was the obligation of the noble. Noble lineage could even be perceived as a virtue in itself. As Bellenden explained, Fergus was chosen the first King of Scots "for his nobill blude & vther excellent vertews".[73] The conflation of ideas which served to bind virtue and nobility together effectively neutralized the radical implications of a doctrine which upheld the right of the virtuous to social leadership and Lindsay's work illustrates how the dual ideas were held in tandem without any apparent difficulty. While in The Dreme he exhorted James V to "Use counsall of thy prudent Lordis trew", in The Testament of the Papyngo he averred that the king's council should comprise "...the moste Sapient/ Without regard to blude, ryches or rent" (1110 & 302-03). This should not be seen as a radical shift of opinion on Lindsay's part. The fundamental - if idealistic - conviction can not be directly equated with a rejection of the - more realistic - justification of the aristocratic right to counsel and service.

Discussion of this point was particularly pertinent for men such as Lindsay, themselves not of noble blood. As we have seen, however, the monopoly on counsel traditionally claimed by the magnates and the Church was challenged during this period (albeit not grievously

---

73 Bellenden, Chronicles of Scotland, I, p.36.

undermined) with the emergence of a significant group of lay, non-aristocratic, often humanist, royal servants and office holders. The works of many northern humanists reveal them to be self-appointed royal counsellors, physicians to the body politic.[74] Stimulated particularly by the rediscovery and reinterpretation of Ciceronian texts, 'Civic humanism', as it has been termed, furnished a culture and philosophy attractive to those engaged in the political life.[75] The practical concerns of humanism and the general ethos which lay behind them contributed to the emergence of a flourishing non-aristocratic section of society who, on account of their education in 'virtue and science', felt themselves well-suited to serve the king. In its own fashion, therefore, humanism made a further contribution to the way in which ideas of service were viewed in Renaissance Scotland. As a writer such as Lindsay demonstrates, humanistic ideas co-existed (often harmoniously) with more traditional assumptions and, arguably, it was this ability to complement conventional thinking which allowed them to be so readily absorbed into a vernacular tradition.

With regard to Lindsay's attitude to social status, it is interesting to note his treatment of the favourites of James III in his poem, The Testament of the Papyngo. Lindsay attributes James's downfall to the machinations of unscrupulous courtiers, an interpretation which has been seen as "a dramatic contribution to the legend of James III".[76] Lindsay it was who introduced the figure of

---

74 Skinner, Foundations, I, p.222.

75 For an analysis of the changing interpretations of Cicero's political thought from the stress upon withdrawal and seclusion to its influence upon civic humanism, see: Hans Baron, "Cicero and the Roman Civic Spirit in the Middle Ages and the Early Renaissance" in Fredric L. Cheyette, ed., Lordship and Community in Medieval Europe (New York etc., 1968) pp.291-314.

76 Norman Macdougall, James III: A Political Study (Edinburgh, 1982) p.278.

Cochrane to the story for the first time (probably in part an attempt to revive the reputation of the Duke of Albany, whose son he certainly favoured). Although portraying Cochrane as "the weid abufe the corne" no doubt encouraged the traditionally-held idea that Cochrane was reviled for his humble birth, moral indignation as much as social outrage inspired this condemnation (453). While the evil courtiers' crime is to "clam so hie, tyll thay lape air thair ledderis", it is important to understand that this refers to their superiors in both virtue and birth (468). As presented by Lindsay, the tragedy of Sauchieburn, like the story of the Papyngo herself, conveys two important truths. Firstly, the parrot is coupled with Cochrane to illustrate the dangers of worldly ambition: "Quho clymmis to hycht, perforce his feit mon faill" (73). Secondly, the parrot's experiences also mirror those of James III, both reject "prudent counsall" and both are made to pay the ultimate penalty for their folly (199).

Lindsay's career together with his poetry provides a vivid illustration of the range of ways in which service at Court was conceived and expressed. The Dreme opens stressing actual duties performed by the poet in the young King's household, focusing upon practical responsibilities and pleasant entertainment. His youth, Lindsay tells James, was "Excerst in seruyce of thyne Excellence" (6). He trusts that this is well known but, just in case, reminds us of it at length. This is not merely to draw attention to his own importance, rather it is offered as the reason and inspiration behind the work which follows. In this way, the poem suggests the extension of Lindsay's service, offering a new type of task appropriate to this new phase of James's reign. The practical, often light-hearted, duties of Lindsay's youth are now replaced by a more sophisticated attempt to serve an adult king and the delightful recollections of childhood romps

give way to a more serious discussion of the world in general and kingship in particular.

Chapter Five

Courtly Visions: Court-Poet and Pageant-Master

Any discussion of kingship which relies solely upon the explicit statements found in literary texts is clearly incomplete. In order fully to understand the subject, we must also consider the nature of the texts themselves and the circumstances of their composition. In short, with Lindsay in mind, we must ask, just what was a court-poet in Renaissance Scotland? What was he doing? Why? And for whom? What do his activities tell us about his cultural environment? By examining Lindsay and his work in this context, this chapter goes some way towards answering these questions. While the reign of James IV and the period 1513-28 come briefly under consideration, the chapter concentrates mainly on the adult reign of James V. This is for two reasons. Firstly, and most obviously, this is the period during which Lindsay composed his court poetry and officiated on occasions of royal pageantry. Secondly, it is, in this as in so many other respects, a sadly neglected period, desperately in need of at least the type of exploratory sketch of Scottish Court culture offered here. Although what follows necessarily concentrates upon literary texts, we must always bear in mind that this is but one aspect of the topic. However, while this is in no way a complete study, focusing on Lindsay does allow us to consider some important non-literary representations of kingship. For by virtue of his heraldic office, Lindsay played a significant role in the organization of chivalric pageantry and public spectacle. A study of Lindsay's dual function as court-poet and pageant-master both complements and extends the previous chapter's discussion of his ideas regarding kingship.

Our most obvious starting point is an examination of that frequently invoked and variously applied term, 'court culture', its wide-ranging usage in itself a reflection of the multifaceted nature of

the concept. Analysing medieval court culture, J. W. Sherborne declares his interest in an "enlightenment and excellence of taste in the arts and in the humanities among those who through interest, experience, observation and commitment had learned to value and promote beauty and distinction".[1] This is far too limited for our purposes. To speak of a court culture is to speak not simply of aesthetics but of the wider artistic, intellectual, ethical, literary, social and visual life of a group of people bound together by a common association with the monarch. Court culture represents then the expression and confirmation - sometimes the questioning, occasionally the subversion - of current modes of thought effected through a wide variety of media. Rod Lyall has usefully emphasized that "the line between the court as a cultural meeting place and the royal household as a centre of political intrigue can never have been a clear one".[2] This metaphorical line was not simply blurred but leaky. Political considerations, ideological and factional, leached into the cultural arena and culture became in turn the articulation of a complex mesh of social, political and ethical concerns. It is in this broad context that this chapter understands 'court culture', examining it primarily as mediated through literary text and staged spectacle - those two areas with which Lindsay was most closely involved.

Any study of court literature and pageantry must clearly take into account the nature of the particular court in which and for which it was composed. Chapter One briefly considered the court culture associated with James IV. The period is fortunate in that it has

---

1 J. W. Sherborne, "Aspects of English Court Culture in the Later Fourteenth Century", in V. J. Scatterwood & J. W. Sherborne, English Court Culture in the Later Middle Ages (London, 1983) pp.1-29, p.1.

2 R. Lyall, "The Court as a Cultural Centre", History Today (Sept. 1984) pp.27-33, p.29.

received a degree of scholarly attention.[3] This has highlighted several key features. Perhaps the most striking of all is the dynamism, what has been termed "the sheer exuberance", of Scottish cultural and intellectual life in the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries.[4] As illustrated, for example, by the work of William Dunbar, this was reflected in all branches of the court arts and in every sphere of courtly activity:

> Schir, ye have mony servitours
> And officiaris of dyvers curis
> Kirkmen, courtmen and craftismen fyne,
> Doctouris in jure and medicyne
> Divinouris, rethoris and philosophouris,
> Men of armes and vailyeant knychtis,
> And mony other gudis wichtis:
> Chevalouris, cawanderis and flingaris:
> Cunyouris, carvouris and carpentaris,
> Beildaris of barkis and ballingaris:
> Masounis lyand upoun the land
> And schipwrichtis hewand upone the strand:
> Glasing wrichtis, goldsmithis and lapidaris
> Pryntouris, payntouris and potingaris.
> (Remonstrance to the King, 1-16)[5]

By piling on the alliterative couplets Dunbar evocatively suggests an atmosphere of colour and action fostering a kaleidoscopic range of artistic talents. This was not mere literary bravura. The more sober evidence of the Treasurer's Accounts, recording payment to all of these craftsmen, amply supports Dunbar's description.[6]

---

3 E.g. Ranald Nicholson, Scotland, the Later Middle Ages (Edinburgh, 1974) pp.576-94. Also, Joan Hughes & W. S. Ramson, Poetry of the Stewart Court (Canberra, 1982) pp.1-21, N. Macdougall, "The Kingship of James IV of Scotland: 'The Glory of all princely governing'?", History Today (Nov. 1984) pp.30-36 and, for a still useful look at the King's day to day patronage of the arts, Mackie, King James IV, pp.113-28.

4 Wormald, Court, Kirk and Community, p.56.

5 The Poems of William Dunbar, II, pp.220-222.

6 Such references are too numerous to list in full, but see, for example: T.A., III, payments to potingaris (apothecaries) p.205 & 380, to painters, p.506, lapidaries (jewellers), p.114, 149, 174, 201, 360 & 388, to the glass wright, Thomas Peebles, 85, 162, 183, 297, 355, 368, to 10 named goldsmiths IV, p.614. See also, IV, Appendix I, ship-building accounts and Appendix II, accounts for artillery and works on Edinburgh Castle including payments to

Court revels, in which the young Lindsay played a part, were an additional and important feature of court life. Anna Jean Mill has usefully extracted all references to such revels found in the Exchequer Rolls and, more particularly, the Treasurer's Accounts.[7] Presented in this way, the sources are eloquent testimony to a court bent upon the pleasing entertainment of king and courtiers alike. Employed for this purpose was a whole host of musicians, minstrels and singers, tale-tellers, jesters and fools, players, guisers and dancers. Special days were marked by the appearance of the King of Bean, Abbot of Unreason, Queen of the May or St Nicholas. Additionally, as we shall see, jousts and tournaments played an important role in the cultural life of the Court and, as the reign progressed, a burgeoning self-confidence manifested itself in ever more extravagant activities.

James IV appreciated the importance of maintaining a visible presence both in his realm as a whole and at Court in particular. Noted for his energetic travels throughout his kingdom, be it as personal supervisor of justice ayres, pious pilgrim or even philandering lover, James was equally visible at Court. There he cut an impressive figure, assiduously cultivating images of his kingship. Extravagant tournaments reinforced the idea of James as chivalric hero, gifted in knightly accomplishments and sensible of his chivalric obligations, while lavish expenditure on artillery and the navy reinforced the idea that he would protect and defend his subjects. His activities speak of a confident claim to a place on the European stage, emulating his fellow monarchs in the pursuit not only of chivalric glory and technological excellence, but also of artistic splendour and intellectual distinction. His reign saw the establishment of

---

gunners, masons and smiths.

7 Mill, Medieval Plays in Scotland, pp.308-335, esp.pp.315-30.

Scotland's first printing press and the foundation of her third university.[8]

James's death in 1513 left a large hole in the fabric of Scotland's court culture. Not only did it represent the loss of an important patron (replaced, initially at least, by a semi-resident Governor), it also threatened Scottish self-confidence and extravagant affirmations of courtly values fell into abeyance.[9] Due in part to plunging revenues and chronic financial problems, the situation was exacerbated by factional conflict and a precarious sense of national security which together rendered political and personal survival the name of the game.[10] The Complaynt cleverly depicts how self-interest conditioned the court culture of the minority. Lindsay's crude and forceful language, heavily dependent upon vituperative alliteration, effectively conveys the hurly-burly of an undignified court, its spirit coarsened and debased:

> Sum gart hym raiffell at the rackat;
> Sum harld hym to the hurly hackat;
> And sum to schaw thare courtlie corsis,
> Wald ryid to leith, and ryn thare horssis,
> (175-78)

Nevertheless, Hughes and Ramson are surely correct to refer to "a court culture which was, despite the political conflicts with which it was racked, stable and profoundly conscious of its own traditions".[11]

---

8 While Bishop Elphinstone may be more correctly seen as the driving force behind these schemes, James was his enthusiastic ally (Macfarlane, William Elphinstone, pp.236-7 & 290-402).

9 Mill notes only two items related to court revels in the period of the minority (Medieval Plays, p.330). Admittedly, there are large gaps in the records, but this is still strikingly few in comparison to more settled times.

10 For the financial background, see: Athol L. Murray, "Financing the Royal Household: James V and his Comptrollers 1513-43", in Cowan & Shaw, ed., Renaissance and Reformation Scotland, pp.41-59, esp. 42-48.

11 Hughes & Ramson, Poetry of the Stewart Court, p.viii.

As we shall see, the court of James V possessed many features in common with that of his father. Obviously there were periods of dislocation but, equally obviously, it was a tradition which was strong enough to withstand hard times, emerging and flourishing when circumstances improved. Indeed, it may not simply have been a question of cultural and artistic hibernation. As Lindsay's tribute to poets such as Inglis (whose *floruit* can be dated to some time before the end of the 1520s) and as poems in the Bannatyne Manuscript testify, troubled circumstances did not necessarily extinguish poetic activity. At least four poems in the Manuscript take the minority as their principal theme.[12] (Although vehement criticism of the minority regime may indicate a composition after the period, such poems nevertheless indicate the profound effect these years had on the court consciousness.) Literary activity also seems to have marked the start of James's personal rule. Lindsay's Complaynt was not the only contemporary work to celebrate the occasion. A Latin verse generally known as the Strena, addressed to James V and apparently written on his assumption of authority, like The Complaynt explores some of issues thrown up by the previous years.[13] James Foulis, a future associate of Lindsay, has been suggested as a possible author of this otherwise anonymous work.[14] Elaborate passages at the beginning and end of the poem frame a description of the minority, a period when the virtues were banished, churches decayed, treachery reigned and Scotland

---

12 This Hindir Nicht, Iesu Chryst that Deit on Tre, Now is our King in Tendir Aige, Rolling in my Rememberance, (Bannatyne Manuscript, II, pp.228-31 & 245-51.) The poem, We Lordis hes chosin a Chiftan Mervellus seems also to belong to the period, and may be a petition for Albany to return to Scotland (II, 197-99). This may be the work referred to in The Complaynt of Scotland as "God sen the Duc hed byddin in France and delaubaute hed neuyr cum hame" (p.51).

13 Bannatyne Miscellany, 4 vols, (Bannatyne Club, 1827-55) II, pp.1-8.

14 Durkan, "The Beginnings of Humanism", p.8.

mourned. Jove therefore urges Phebus to look favourably upon the new king, James V, who armed and defended by Valour, Hope and Faith, will restore peace and prosperity. Although the Strena is a very different poem to The Complaynt, by celebrating the accession of a new ruler and anticipating his virtuous rule, both convey the same essential message and perform the same poetic and political functions.[15]

As with his father, James V's personal and political confidence increased as the reign progressed. The delicate and dangerous game of power politics, the arrogant taxation of the Church, the unprecedented French visit, the obsessive tinkering with his royal regalia, all suggest an aggressive self-assurance. This also received physical expression as household expenditure soared and vast sums were lavished on extravagant building programmes.[16] There was additionally a return to grand spectacle complemented by the revival of the artistic and literary activity of the Court. While the records do not suggest anything quite comparable with the heady days of the previous reign, there was a renewed upsurge of court revelry. Fools and jugglers, guisers and musicians, Robin Hood and the Queen of Bean were all reinstated.[17]

James himself seems to have taken a keen interest in these activities and his personal lead and participation is an important factor explaining the renewed enthusiasm. According to one later

---

15 It has been suggested the Strena was composed for a royal welcome, which may well be the case (L. O. Fradenburg, "Narrative and Capital in Late Medieval Scotland", in L. Patterson, ed., Literary Practice and Social Change in Britain 1380-1530 (Berkeley, Los Angeles, Oxford, 1990) pp.285-333, p.294. For a reading of the poem, see: pp.308-16. (Fradenburg accepts Foulis's authorship.)

16 The Accounts of the Master of Works for the period 1529-41 show expenditure to have exceeded £26,000 (Donaldson, James V - James VII, p.57-58) For an account of James's building, see: Stewart Cruden, The Scottish Castle (Edinburgh & London, 1960) pp.146-48 & 196.

17 Mill, Medieval Plays, pp.330-332.

sixteenth century source, the King was an accomplished musician. Able to sight-read, he possessed a good ear but an unfortunate voice, "rawky and harsh".[18] However, he clearly appreciated fine musicianship and on one occasion requested the service of the musician, Thomas de Avarencia, from the Duke of Milan.[19] James, described by Lindsay as the "Prince of Poetry", seems also to have dabbled in composition (Answer to the Kingis Flyting, 21). Various works have been attributed - for no very good reason - to the royal pen but although we do not know exactly what James wrote, Lindsay's Answer to the Kingis Flyting proves that write he did.[20] "Redoutit Roy," Lindsay addresses James, "your ragement I haue red" (1). Unfortunately, this 'ragement' no longer survives but it is clearly a vigorous example of poetic flyting, a literary attack on an individual relying upon the techniques of invective and alliteration. Lindsay's reply illustrates the subject of James's taunts - the poet's prowess as a lover - and it suggests the bawdy style in which they were couched. We are obviously dealing here with written texts. Lindsay refers to James's "prunyeand pen" (6) and his "wennemous wryting" (21), but it seems equally obvious that these were poems designed to be read aloud, a poetic duel for the entertainment of the Court. Similarly, In Contemptioun of Syde Tallis sees Lindsay urging James "To heir...with greit Pacience" his petition against the latest female fashions (9-10) and we can easily imagine how the mock petition was read in front of an amused court audience.

---

18 The source is Thomas Wode, compiler of an anthology of part music, often referred to as the St Andrews Psalter, put together over the years 1562/66 to 1590 (Helena Mennie Shire, Song, Dance and Poetry of the Court of Scotland under King James VI (Cambridge, 1969) pp.23-25.)

19 James V, Letters, p.170.

20 No less than four poems are attributed to James in the Abbotsford Series of Scottish Poets, George Eyre-Todd, ed., Scottish Poets in the Sixteenth Century (Glasgow, 1892)

More elaborately staged plays represent a further element of courtly entertainment. This too was a communal activity, this time involving the interaction of courtiers and the semi-professional players and guisers. Again, James took a personal lead and we find payments for "certane play gounis to the Kingis grace to pas in maskerie".[21] Drawing on the traditional appointment of a 'King of Bean' for the Twelfth Night or Uphaliday celebrations, the Epiphany drama staged in 1540 also cleverly exploited the idea of the court as *dramatis personae*.[22] Before their eyes, the King and his Court see their own mirror image as another king and court assume centre stage. Indeed, there is a multiplicity of kings. When the poor man enters, he asks to see the monarch but repudiates the actor playing the part, for there is but one king, "whiche made all and gouernethe all, whoe is eternall".[23] Neither is the actor the King of Scotland, "for ther was an other king in Scotlande that hanged John Armestrang with his fellowes". As has been observed, "James V and the Player-King sit enthroned and silent at either end of the Hall throughout the play: twin nodes of power, providing the political points of reference within which the dramatic debate is to be enacted".[24] And over and above this representation of temporal authority, we are reminded of the royal obligation to the higher power of God. This confusion of royal identity cleverly underscores the play's politico-religious message. As Eure's 'nootes' make clear, the Player-King is there only to observe

---

21 T.A., VI, p.255. Payment was also made for 'ane play coit for the Kingis son' (ibid., VI, p.186). His father, James IV, had also participated in court dramas. In 1507, seven ells of grey cloth was purchased 'to be ane mummyng goun to the King' (ibid., III, p.249).

22 On such mock-kings, see: Sandra Billington, Mock Kings in Medieval Society and Renaissance Drama (Oxford, 1991).

23 Hamer, Works, II, p.5.

24 Walker, "Sir David Lindsay's *Satire*", p.12.

the action (the complaint of the poor man and the deliberations of the estates), thereafter to ratify, approve and confirm "all that was rehersed".[25] The very act of play-watching blurs the royal identities. James's attendance at the performance is mimicked by the role of the Player-King - the silent watcher - and his applause at the end must echo the latter's approval of the proposed legislation. The bold juxtaposition of real and staged kingship invites the audience to approve of the play's evangelical message. The Epiphany drama serves to illustrate the importance of understanding the often complex interaction of message, medium and social context.

We have already noted Lindsay's endorsement of traditional courtly arts; not only such pastimes as hunting and hawking but also "mirth and mirrines" (Ane Satyre, 1843). In The Testament of the Papyngo, the parrot commends:

> Maisteris of Museik, to recreat thy spreit
> With dantit voce and plesande Instrument:
> Thus may thov be of all plesouris repleit,
> (276-78)

Similarly, in Ane Satyre, Solace is given licence:

> ...to sing,
> To dance, to play at Chesse and Tabillis,
> To reid Stories and mirrie fablis,
> For plesour of our King.
> (1835-38)

The representation of the three courtier-vices, beguiled rather than evil, hints at the potential moral danger of such courtly pursuits. Nevertheless, their repentance and rehabilitation affirms Lindsay's belief in the value of their - uncorrupted - service. The existence of a real Wantoness who, with "hir twa marrowis", entertained James IV, again illustrates how context informs text as allegorical points were

---

25 Hamer, Works, II, p.6.

made more forceful by blurring the distinction between what was seen and what was staged.[26]

It is no accident that Solace lays particular emphasis upon the art of story-telling. We must not forget that as well as being highly visual, Scottish court culture was also extremely aural. In addition to the musicians and singers, there was a strong tradition of tale-telling, poetry and recitation. This is supported by the introduction to the anonymous Colkelbie's Sow which describes the entertainment of the assembled court:

> Quhen riallest, most redowttit, and he
> Magnificat crownit kingis in maieste,
> Princis, duces and marquis curiouss
> Erlis, barronis and kynchtis chevelrous
> And gentillmen of he genolegye
> As Scutiferais and squieris full curtlye
> Ar assemblit and sett in a ryell se,
> With namit folkis of he nobilite,
> Thay talk that tyme in table honorable
> Befoir lordingis and ladeis amiable
> Is oft singing and sawis of solace
> Quhair melody is the mirthfull maistrace,
> Ermy deidis in auld dayis done afoir
> Croniculis, gestis, storeis and much moir
> Manestralis amang mvsicianis merely
> To haif hartis in hevinly armony -
> So semis it weill that suthly so war ay.
> (1-17)[27]

Who were these tale-tellers, chroniclers and poets? While payments to minstrels, musicians and acrobats occur regularly in the records, references to tale-tellers and the like are few and far between. "Widderspune the foulare, that tald talis...to the King", (James IV) was one of the few to preserve his name for posterity.[28] This apart, records for the first half of the sixteenth century note only a couple of small, one-off, payments to "the bard wif in the

---

26 T.A., III, p.372. (1507).

27 Bannatyne Manuscript, IV, pp.279-96.

28 T.A., II, p.307.

Canonegait", and to "ane pur bard fallo".[29] Clearly, this is not the whole story. Surviving poetry of the period, not least Lindsay's own, bears witness to a much richer aural tradition mediated through a whole host of creative individuals. An explanation for this apparent contradiction is suggested by Richard Firth Green's work on English court literature in the later Middle Ages.[30] Starting with the early primacy of minstrels in the cultural life of the court and the wide variety of functions they performed, he traces their subsequent history, noting how as the artistic tastes of the court grew at once more diverse and more sophisticated, the minstrels' position was challenged by the emergence of more specialised entertainers; on the one hand, by a more precisely defined company of musicians, jugglers and fools, and on the other by 'men of letters'. These educated 'men of letters' (hence, for most of the Middle Ages, clerics), served their lords in a variety of ways and literary composition was generally combined with practical service in the household or secretariat. With court poets occupying an ill-defined position somewhere between the amateur and the professional, they enjoyed a status more elevated yet simultaneously more ambiguous than that of the minstrels and guisers. This semi-professional, superficially casual, approach to composition is nicely illustrated in The Dreme where Lindsay describes how he:

> ...purposit, for passing of the tyme,
> Me to defend frome Ociositie,
> With pen and paper, to Regester in ryme,
> Sum mery mater of Antiquitie.
> (120-24)

Undertaken over and above official duties, literary composition received no specific pecuniary reward, rather it was simply another

---

29 Ibid., II, p.132 & III, p.332.

30 Green, Poets and Princepleasers. Although focused on England, the study considers other experiences and has implications wider than the English Court alone.

aspect of the totally committed service demanded by the medieval household. As Bellenden recalls:

> I was in service with the king;
> Put to his grace in yeiris tenderest
> Clerk of his comptis, thocht I was inding
> With hert and hand, and evry othir thing
> That micht him pleis in any maner best.
> (The Proheme to the Cosmographe, 29-34)[31]

The payments Bellenden received for his translations of Boece and Livy were something of the exception which proves the rule.[32] Even Dunbar was attached to the Court in the vaguest of terms with no reference to his prolific creativity.[33] Lindsay, of course, provides another example of courtier-poets in this position. His life was certainly that of a 'working-courtier' and it was as such that he received his annual pensions and liveries. Bar the entry in the Treasurer's Accounts noting a payment for his blue and yellow "play coit" in 1511, there is nothing in the Court records to connect him with an artistic existence.[34] Lindsay's position was somewhat different in that, as a herald, he was part of a rich chivalric culture, occupying a position increasingly associated with literary accomplishment. Building upon this aspect of his heraldic duties, Lindsay did not simply record James's valour in the lists or praise his name on diplomatic embassies. As we shall see, he also celebrated his kingship in his verse. In addition, a work such as The Deploratioun may be seen as a more elaborate version of the type of accounts heralds were expected to produce recording their business (such as Somerset Herald's report of the marriage of James IV). In general, however, heraldic literary

---

31 The Mar Lodge Translation of the History of Scotland, pp.3-13.

32 T. A., V, p.434 & VI, p.37, 97, 98, 206.

33 The pension upon which Dunbar seems to have been wholly dependent was authorised until such time as a suitable benefice should become vacant (R.S.S., III, no.563).

34 T.A., IV, p.313.

activity tended to be less creative, focusing primarily on the composition of formal descriptions, technical treatises and the translation of standard texts, so while his background clearly provided Lindsay with a rich source of imagery and ideas and to some extent inspired his compositions, the explanation as to why Lindsay wrote as he did is not to be found in his office alone.

To a large extent, Lindsay was conditioned by the rich Scottish tradition of advice giving discussed in the previous chapter and, in many ways, he is indebted to the work of respected predecessors. It would, however, be wrong to think that tradition inspired his writing. Of far greater importance was the very real sense of moral, spiritual and indeed political duty associated with such a tradition. As Ireland explained to James IV:

> This labour I have takin for luf and seruice of thi hienes and proffit of thi pepil and realme.[35]

Such pious declarations may sound somewhat insincere to modern ears but to seek, as Ireland did, the "eternal saluacioun" of the King and his people represents an enormously important and deadly serious goal.

Another - less altruistic - motive for the composition of court poetry was, of course, the hope of reward. Although court-poets did not necessarily expect preferment as poets, they did expect their work to draw the attention and material gratitude of an approving patron-monarch. Dunbar's precatory poems furnish perhaps the most well known evidence for this. Although on occasion, Dunbar sarcastically laments his "licht" service and "ballatis brief", thereby drawing attention to his poetry and associated bid for preferment, he frequently invokes a more general type of service.[36] Lindsay, whose own petition for royal

---

35 Ireland, Meroure of Wyssdome, Book VII, p.164.

36 Schir, Yit Remembir as of Befoir, 51 & 48 (The Poems of William Dunbar, II, pp.104-07.)

favour, The Complaynt, has striking affinities with Dunbar's work, is more explicit in stating that it is for his poetry, *inter alia*, that he expects reward.[37] Although he recalls his practical service in the household of the young James V, he makes the point that it is his failure to flyte or flatter, to indulge in base poetic techniques, which is responsible for his lack of advancement. In a corrupt court, cheap tricks obtain reward and the socially inferior King's fool is elevated above his poet. Although he mocks his talent in conventional self-deprecatory terms, Lindsay makes clear that it deserves recognition:

> Althocht I beir nocht lyke ane baird,
> Lang seruyce yarnis, ay, rewaird.
> (49-50)

Stressing the link that ought properly to exist between poet and patron, he hopes that James:

> ...sall anis rewarde me, or I de,
> And rube the ruste of my ingyne,
> Quhilk bene, for langour lyke to tyne.
> (47-49)

Lindsay looks forward to a time when James will "misken" his service no longer, but recognise it for what it is (459). Significantly, perhaps, when Lindsay reminds James of the moral obligations of patronage and his own final judgement before God, he cites the example of David, "the gret Propheit Royall", and also, of course, Old Testament poet (488).

In addition to fulfilling a sense of moral obligation and offering the chance of recognition and preferment, poetry was a way of participating more fully in court life. As we have seen, poetry was most often 'self-commissioned'. Even poems such as Lindsay's Deploratioun, written as a formal tribute to the dead queen and, perhaps more significantly, as official reiteration of Scottish hopes

---

37 Janet H. Williams, "'Althocht I beir nocht like ane baird'": David Lyndsay's 'Complaynt'", S.L.J., IX, (1982) pp.5-20, esp. pp.6-9.

for a French alliance, was not formally commissioned - or at least, so far as we know, the poet received no specific financial reward. Similarly, the Epiphany play, produced for a very particular festival, was not specifically rewarded. A poem such as Answer to the Kingis Flyting, the expected response to James's own poetic approach, suggests that 'commissioning' was at once a more informal and more complex business than simple request and payment. By offering a service over and above that more normally given, poetry was a useful means of reinforcing one's position at court. The Testament of the Papyngo illustrates the dual role the poet possessed in court life. Thus, the narrator of the poem is both courtier and poet, both participant and observer. Although identified simply as the King's "simpyll seruetour" and keeper of his parrot, his fashionably alliterative treatment of the parrot's song and aureate description of the balmy morning mark him out as a poet of some distinction (85). Not only the narrator, but the parrot too adopts this dual function, entertaining her fellow courtiers like "ane menstrall agane yule" - while at the same time acting as both mirror and critic (98).

Given the circumstances described above, it is clear that our search for the poets of the Stewart court must go beyond the financial records. Dunbar's Lament for the Makaris provides a famous depiction of the wealth of Scottish literary culture during this period and a poignant illustration of its transience.[38] The same is true of Lindsay's Testament of the Papyngo. Like Dunbar, Lindsay introduces his litany of famous poets with reference to the revered triumvirate of Chaucer, Gower and Lydgate. He then turns to the consideration of

---

38 The Poems of William Dunbar, II, pp.48-51. For a more general discussion, see: R. J. Lyall, "The Lost Literature of Medieval Scotland", in J. Derrick McClure and Michael R. G. Spiller, ed., Brycht Lanternis: Essays on the Language and Literature of Medieval and Renaissance Scotland (Aberdeen, 1989) pp.33-47.

Scottish poets past and present. (Although it should be noted that the distinction between 'English' and 'Scottish' is perhaps more apparent than real. Douglas is acclaimed the rose of "Inglis rethorick", while all are described as poets of "our vulgare toung" 24 & 10.) Lindsay deals first with the poets of the past, listing Kennedy, Dunbar, Quintin, Mersar, Rowle, Henryson, Hay, Holland and Gavin Douglas.[39]

> Thocht they be ded, thair libells bene leuand
> Quhilkis to reheirs makeith redaris to reiose.
> (20-21)

Given that this is so clearly a court poem, we can assume that the popular literary tastes indicated by these lines were the tastes of the Court. Obviously then, the Court was extremely catholic in its choice of literature. The authors listed here were responsible for an extraordinarily heterogeneous collection of work: the translation of classical and chivalric texts, Romances, *moralitas*, allegorical beast fables, love poetry, religious verse. Aureate and blunt, elevated and profane, the stylistic range is equally broad. Although he is referring specifically only to Douglas and Dunbar, surely Denton Fox is correct to argue that what distinguishes Middle Scots court poetry is its diversity - "There is no special court style".[40] This is not so surprising for while, in one sense, the Court represents a self-contained, self-conscious milieu, in other respects it was a far from monolithic community. Consisting of the humble and the social élite, its personnel both fluid and flexible, it responded to the demands of a peripatetic lifestyle and the vagaries of political fortune and personal favour. Court culture inevitably reflects this curious combination of diversity and coherence.

---

39 Short biographical accounts (so far as known) are provided in Hamer, Works, III, pp.68-75.

40 Denton Fox, "Middle Scots Poets and Patrons", in English Court Culture in the Later Middle Ages, pp.109-27, p.124.

A similar range of literary activity and style is suggested by Lindsay's consideration of contemporary poets. (The Testament of the Papyngo was written in 1530, therefore this means poets of the previous decade.) Unlike when dealing with the poets of the past, Lindsay appears now to concentrate exclusively upon court poets (presumably actual acquaintances) and an atmosphere of almost feverish activity is conveyed:

> And, in the courte, bene present, in thir dayis,
> That ballatis, breuis Iustellie and layis,
> Quhilks tyll our Prince daylie do present.
> (37-38)

No less than seven poets are named by Lindsay: Inglis (since his elevation to the abbacy of Culross, no longer writing), Kidd, Stewart, Stewart of Lorne, Galbraith, Kynloch and Bellenden. Of the majority of these writers, regrettably little remains.

According to Hamer, Kynloch is "not otherwise known".[41] However, various Kynlochs do appear in the records and a plausible candidate for Lindsay's poet is one Paul Kynloch, a household servant, who in 1527 received "ane lettre...makand him court stewart to the kingis grace of his household, for his lifetyme" and the following year a grant of land in Freuchie, Fife.[42]

Kidd's identity is equally hazy but at least we may have an extant example of his work, The Rich Fontane of Hailfull Sapience, credited by Bannatyne to "Alexander Kidd".[43] This may be the same Alexander Kidd who in 1534 was succentor of Aberdeen.[44] It seems less likely that he

---

41 Hamer, Works, III, p.78.

42 R.S.S., I, nos.769, 847 & 3757 & R.M.S., III, no.705. See also: T.A., VI, p.37 & 207 (1532 & 1534), E.R., XV, p.292, 382, 386, 461, 534, 546, 5666. XVI, p.135, 174, 294, 348 & 393.

43 Bannatyne Manuscript, II, pp.242-45. The fact that the poem was about James V supports his credentials as court-poet.

44 E.R., XVI, p.370.

was the burgess of Dundee of that name but, in truth, there is no real evidence to pin down this shadowy figure.[45]

The manuscript collections, Bannatyne and Maitland, contain fourteen poems variously ascribed to an author by the name of Stewart.[46] Two of these appear to have been later compositions of Henry Stewart, Lord Darnley. Ten are attributed simply to 'Stewart' which, given the currency of the name, makes them almost impossible to ascribe. Some may be by Stewart of Lorne, an apparent reference to Alan Stewart of Lorne, Captain of the King's Guard.[47] Equally, perhaps more likely, some may be the work of William Stewart, the author of the remaining two 'Stewart poems', Precelland Prince and This Hindir Nicht.[48] The former of these is addressed to James V and may be a product of the minority - the King is yet so young, nature denies him the gift of wisdom. This Hindir Nicht, a more obvious minority poem, describes the erosion of virtue, "The quhilk sen flowdoun feild hes bene dispysit" (60). It is a poem which bears a striking resemblance to Lindsay's Dreme.[49] In both works the poet-narrator retires to bed and dreams of a lady - although Stewart's naked and glittering Dame Veritie is certainly more erotic than Lindsay's Dame Rememberance. The narrator asks his companion when Scotland shall again enjoy peace and

---

45 R.M.S., III, nos.435, 762, 996, 1938 (1528-38).

46 Listed by Hamer, Works, III, pp.76-77.

47 Ibid., III, p.77. See: E.R., XV, p.158, 456, R.M.S., III, no.1866 (1538, described as "*servitor regis*").

48 Bannatyne Manuscript, II, pp.231-32 & 228-31. Although anonymous in Bannatyne, the latter is ascribed to "williame stewart" in Maitland (W. A. Craigie, ed., The Maitland Folio Manuscript, 2 vols, (S.T.S., 1919-27) I, pp.353-55.

49 Given Stewart's authorship of these two minority poems, he seems a probable author for another minority piece, Rolling in My Rememberance, attributed simply to Stewart, (Maitland Manuscript, I, pp.370-72)

prosperity and is told of the need to eradicate vice (personified in both poems) and to reinstate virtue. Thereupon the poet awakes and having 'tuk his pen', conveys his vision to his sovereign, reminding James of his responsibility before God. This Hindir Nicht is a much less sophisticated poem than The Dreme, but it seems clear that they were the product of the same cultural and political milieu. (Given the problem of dating The Dreme, it seems likely that both were minority works although it is hard to assess which was composed first.) The author of This Hindir Nicht is probably that same William Stewart who between the years 1531 and 1535 composed a verse translation of Boece's Scotorum Historiae which, according to the Prologue, was written at the behest of some lady of the Court - possibly Margaret Tudor.[50] From the text we know that Stewart was a descendant of Alexander Stewart, first Earl of Buchan, and he appears to have been a graduate of St Andrews, being educated for the Church.[51] The Treasurer's Accounts record various fees and liveries granted to Stewart, but precise identification is tricky and complicated by the existence of at least one other William Stewart, James V's Treasurer and Bishop of Aberdeen.[52]

Amongst his contemporaries, Lindsay's highest praise is reserved for John Bellenden, famous for his translations of Boece and Livy and the author of four surviving poems: The Proheme to the Cosmography, Ballat vpone the Translatione, The Proheme to the History and The Baner of Peetie. The first three of these are prefatory works written to

---

50 William Stewart, The Buik of the Croniclis of Scotland or A Metrical Version of the History of Hector Boece, William B. Turnball, ed., 3 vols, (London, 1858).

51 Ibid., I, p.x.

52 Possible references to Stewart include: T.A., V, p.321, 328, 384, 309, VI, 39, 92, 95, 97, 203, 205, 207, 210, VII, 16, 455, VIII, 373, 375, 411.

accompany the two translations, the fourth an interpretation of the popular 'Parliament of Heaven' theme.[53] Lindsay, writing in 1530, describes Bellenden as a new arrival on the literary scene and, given that he had not yet begun upon his great translations, this seems accurate. Three payments recorded in the Treasurer's Accounts reveal that it was in 1531 that Bellenden was commissioned to translate the *Scotorum Historiae* and it is a comment upon the impact of the work at Court that it was at the same time that Stewart began his metrical translation.[54] In 1533, Bellenden received payment for "ane new cornikle", which could refer to a work now lost, a revised or special presentation copy, or more probably to his translation of Livy, payment for which is recorded immediately after.[55] Significantly, writing some two years previously, Lindsay was still able to refer to Bellenden's "ornate workis" (52). This seems an unlikely reference to The Baner of Peetie for, if Hughes and Ramson are right and the use of the term "senatouris" suggests an occasional poem composed specifically for a gathering of such, then this presupposes a later date.[56] Once again, Lindsay's poem hints at the casualties of Middle Scots literature.[57]

It has been suggested that Lindsay's Galbraith is the humanist lawyer and neo-Latin poet, Robert Galbraith.[58] However, given

---

53 The Baner of Peetie is printed in The Bannatyne Manuscript, II, pp.3-8. The provenance of this traditional theme and its use by John Ireland is discussed by Mapstone in "A Mirror for the Divine Prince: John Ireland and the Four Daughters of God", Brycht Lanternis, pp.308-23.

54 T.A., V, p.434 & VI, 37.

55 Ibid., VI, p.97. For further payments relating to 'the translatioune of Titus Livius', see: p.98 & 206.

56 Hughes & Ramson, Poetry of the Stewart Court, p.46.

57 He also refers to more than five poems written by Douglas, which again must be lost works (Testament of the Papyngo, 32).

58 Durkan, "The Beginnings of Humanism", p.7. This may be the Robert Galbraith referred to T.A., V, p.293 & 402.

Lindsay's interest in poets of "our vulgare toung", this is perhaps questionable and various Galbraiths are recorded at Court who could equally have been Lindsay's poet. Nevertheless, the identification does alert us to a further aspect of Scottish Renaissance literature, one particularly important as an indicator of the emerging humanist court culture: that is, Latin composition. We have already noted the existence of the Strena, and other neo-Latinists were certainly at work, notably George Buchanan.[59] In addition to playing its part in the cultural life of the Scottish Court, neo-Latin verse also occupied an important position within a more mainstream European intellectual culture. However, while acknowledging the existence and importance of such literature, this study is limited to the vernacular. Not only was this the language used by Lindsay himself, with the possible exception of the short verse in the Armorial Manuscript, it was also the every day language of the Court. If Stewart is to be believed, James was an uncomfortable Latinist:

> The Kingis grace I knaw is nocht perfite
> In Latin toung, and namelie in sic dyte
> It wilbe tedious, that dar I tak in hand,
> To reid the thing he can not understand.[60]

Sources indicate that James's disrupted education had been equally disastrous for his French and, even if this is exaggeration, it seems that while the King set the lead, court culture was decidedly vernacular in tone.[61] The emergence of Lindsay, Stewart and Bellenden as the principal court poets of the reign reinforced this, encouraging too the lay character of court culture. Bellenden himself might have

---

59 For an appreciation of Buchanan as neo-Latin poet, see: Philip J. Ford, George Buchanan, Prince of Poets (Aberdeen, 1982).

60 Stewart, A Metrical Version of the History, Prologue, 112-115.

61 According to an observer of his marriage, James 'savoit peu de langage françois'" (Teulet, *Relations Politiques de la France et de l'Espagne avec L'Ecosse*, I, p.108).

been a cleric but, as he explained, he composed his translation "mair for lawit men than ony curious clerkis".[62]

Taking Lindsay as our principal source, we have looked in some detail at those poets listed in The Testament of the Papyngo and hence active in the 1520s. As we have seen, several of these, notably Bellenden, Stewart and Lindsay himself, flourished in the next decade. There must have been others. The attribution of a poem in the Bannatyne Manuscript to one "balnevis" suggests perhaps that Balnaves too was a part-time poet, but the picture is far from clear and our evidence is very fragmentary.[63] Although not nearly comparable in value, we do have a source similar to the poems of Dunbar and Lindsay, namely John Rolland's Seuin Seages, the prologue to which describes the poets of the Court:

> In Court that time was gude Dauid Lyndsay,
> In vulgar toung he bure the bell that day
> To mak meter, richt cunnynyng and expart,
> And maister Iohn Ballentyne suith to say
> Mak him marrow to Dauid well we may.
> And for the third, Maister William Stewart,
> To mak in Scottis, richt weill he knew that Art,
> Bischop Durie, sum tyme of Galloway,
> For his plesure sum tyme wald tak thair part.
> (19-27)[64]

Rolland portrays himself as a student of these illustrious masters and, while this be more metaphorical than literal (references in The Seuin Seages clearly date the poem to 1560), he certainly conveys the respect with which they were generally regarded. If Rolland is correct, Lindsay, Stewart and Bellenden were the principal court poets of

---

62 Bellenden, Chronicles of Scotland, I, p.337.

63 O Gallandis all I Cry and Call, Bannatyne Manuscript, III, pp.18-22. The poem is a light hearted piece but its plea for temperance and moderation may reflect the type of concerns we might more readily associate with Balnaves.

64 G. F. Black, ed., The Seuin Seages translatit out of prois in scottis meter be Iohne Rolland in Dalkeith... (S.T.S., 1931). Also published by the Bannatyne Club, The Sevin Sages in Scottish Metre by John Rolland of Dalkeith (1837).

James V's reign. In addition, we are introduced to Andrew Dury, a more occasional versifier. (Previously Abbot of Melrose, Dury was Bishop of Galloway, 1541-58.) Nothing of Dury's work remains but his literary reputation is remarked upon by Knox, who recalled how Dury, "sometymes called for his filthines Abbot Stottikin...left his rymymg, wharewith he was accustomed, and departed this lyef".[65] This may be the same individual referred to in (William?) Stewart's poem, Lerges of this New Yeirday:

> Off galloway the bishop new
> Furth of my hand ane ballat drew
> (15-16)[66]

Poems such as this also furnish information regarding the way in which poetry was composed. Here Stewart describes the creation of poems for a specific day, one traditionally associated with the dispensation of patronage, and for specific individuals - the King, his mother, churchmen, lords and officials such as the Secretary and Treasurer - who respond with varying degrees of generosity. The Testament of the Papyngo works in a similar way illustrating not only the identities of individual poets but also something of the way in which they worked. Lindsay describes them as present at Court, regularly offering compositions specifically to the King - Stewart, displaying the productivity that might be expected of the author of the Metrical Translation - is even described as turning out work on a daily basis. The Testament of the Papyngo reinforces the importance of patronage and the need to secure an established position. Bellenden's future glory as a poet depends upon his "auctoritie" at Court (53). Cleverly, the sonorous language used for those poets long dead gives way to an altogether brusquer style and the short staccato phrasing of

---

65 Knox, Works, I, pp.261-62.

66 Bannatyne Manuscript, II, pp.254-55. References to Queen Margaret (d.Oct 1541) date the poem to 1541.

such lines as "Bot, now, of lait, is starte upe, haistellie,/ One cunnyng Clerk, quhilk wrytith craftelie", perfectly conveys an undignified scramble for position (49-50).[67] The reader is reminded of this babble by the barking, cawing, screeching, whistling parrot, who, like Lindsay himself, must strive to find an individual poetic voice able to be heard above the multitude.

Identifying individual court poets is, arguably, less important than identifying their place within the courtly milieu. How did the poet interact with his environment, what exactly was the function of court literature during this period? Returning to our earlier definition of court culture, we can say that court literature is concerned with the affirmation, questioning and subversion of its audience's preconceptions and values, often more than one of these elements being present in a single poem. An important aspect of this was the creation - or at least the fortification - of images of identity. As was frequently stated, poetry immortalized the reputation of the prince:

> Off thy vertew Poetis perpetuallie
> Sall mak mention, vnto the warld be endit:
> (Testament of the Papyngo, 262-63)

It has been argued that Lindsay's Dreme is a subtle encomiastic piece of propaganda designed to shore up James's new regime.[68] While doubts over the traditionally accepted dating of the poem (see Chapter One) make it hard to accept that this was intended as praise of policies already in place, the poem is rightly seen as a hortative expression of the traditional ideals of kingship discussed in the previous chapter. Through the vigorous acclamation of an ideal, the

---

67 Glenn D. Burger, "Poetical Invention and Ethical Wisdom in Lindsay's 'Testament of the Papyngo'", S.S.L., XXIV, (1989) pp.164-80, pp.166-67.

68 Cairns, "Sir David Lindsay's *Dreme*",

legitimacy and importance of that ideal was reaffirmed. James's youth (like Rex Humanitas, he was, "*Tanquam tabula rasa*") made him the perfect peg upon which to hang these ideals; the peg which grounded political and poetic aspirations in reality.

A more obvious example of poetic image-making is found in The Complaynt where James is explicitly and extravagantly described as a virtuous monarch who has brought peace and prosperity to his realm. However, this poem also provides an example of the way in which an image could be simultaneously enhanced and embarrassed, for the paean of praise sits uneasily between two more ambiguous discussions of aspects of James's kingship. Firstly, although Lindsay carefully employs a traditional and amusing petitionary format and constantly affirms his own unworthiness, to criticize the monarch's patronage and his choice of counsellors was, in fact, to lay a very serious charge against his kingship. As Hay put it:

> ...honour and rewarde suld be ay geuin to worthy personis; and to extole folk that ar worthy to hye honouris, that is the honoure of princis.[69]

Although Lindsay suggests that James was simply slow to action in this respect, it is clear that he considered his actions inappropriate to an ideal king. The end of The Complaynt further undermines James's reputation by suggesting that Lindsay will withdraw his petition (a threat which subtly suggests the withdrawal of feudal fealty) and redirect it to "the Kyng of blys" (484). This allows Lindsay to remind James not only of his power but also of his obligations:

> For thow art bot ane Instrument
> To that gret kyng Omnipotent.
> (499-500)

This is particularly apt as Lindsay's second criticism is of James's failure to deal with problems in the Church. Again this is presented

---

69 Hay, The Governaunce of Princis, p.85.

simply as something James has yet to begin but, given that this is his second such offence, the audience is left questioning Lindsay's earlier encomium.

The previous chapter noted that issues of patronage and reward also lie behind The Confessioun of Bagsche in which the misdeeds of a vicious and bullying hound gain him advancement at Court. Moreover, although ultimately discarded, Bagsche does escape with his life - it is plainly not true, as the old dog claims, that all such criminals will be hanged. Again Lindsay obliquely criticizes the King with a tale which recalls The Thrie Prestis of Peblis where the king who pardons a murderer is deemed responsible for his subsequent crimes. The Confessioun of Bagsche nicely illustrates how the poet's position in the royal household contributes to the poem's effectiveness. Like the royal dogs, the members of the Court are dependent upon James's - somewhat capricious - favour and, as Bagsche instructs his fellow hounds, so Lindsay is instructing his fellow courtiers. The domestic tone of both language and imagery together with references to actual persons of the Court effectively turn this universal morality tale into a uniquely personal insight into one very specific household.[70] It is possible that the apparently simple beast fable also worked at a deeper level within the context of the court intrigues of the 1530s. The tale of the dog who enjoys advancement at court and then turns on his former friends (Huntly, Bagsche's former guardian, becomes his "mortall Enemie") may contain a coded warning to the Earl (58). Although Huntly, who appears to have played a key role in the downfall of the Master of Forbes, subsequently stood high in royal favour, the fate of the old hound may have been understood by those in Lindsay's circle as

---

70 James actually owned a dog called Bagsche, (T.A., VII, p.96) and entries to the King's hounds occur throughout the accounts. For a full list, see: Hamer, Works, III, pp.111-12.

a cautionary reminder to his erstwhile protector.[71] Although the evidence for such an interpretation is extremely slight (relying on references in the poem itself), this type of reading does alert us to the importance of court poetry as a vehicle for the discussion of factional politics, perhaps even the endorsement of one particular position. With real meaning encased in a complex system of imagery and metaphor, poetry represented a relatively safe medium for such debate.[72] Sometimes, however, notably with the 1540 Epiphany play, this type of comment was eschewed in favour of a more direct approach. There was certainly little to decode with respect to this particular play's factional purpose.

The poem which most obviously fashions James's image according to his own taste is The Deploratioun of the Deith of Quene Magdalene. This is one of Lindsay's most formal works, written with deliberate reference to French poetic traditions and possibly intended, in part at least, for a French audience. The French deploration, "the genre of high ritual", was a common choice for obituary verse.[73] An elaborate composition structured according to rigid convention, it made heavy use of elevated, often highly latinized, language. Lindsay's Deploratioun,

---

71 Buchanan, History of Scotland, II, p.256-57. For a detailed literary criticism of the poem which seeks to decode some of Lindsay's intentions, see: Janet H. Williams, "The Lyoun and the Hound: Sir David Lyndsay's Complaint and...Confessioun of...Bagsche", Paregon, No.31, (1981) pp.3-12. She argues that Lindsay was writing about a political struggle centred around the discovery of a courtier in the pay of England and in support of her case cites the fact that the name of the hound recalls the 'bagcheke' (the unflattering term given to the English groat depicting Henry VIII) and the fact that the royal arms of England are supported *dexter* by a hound (p.8). However, the existence of a real life Bagsche makes this subtle message unlikely whatever the truth concerning the poem's topical meaning.

72 Alistair Fox, Politics and Literature in the Reigns of Henry VII and Henry VIII (Oxford, 1989) pp.3-6.

73 I. D. Mcfarlane, A Literary History of France: Renaissance France 1470-1589 (London & New York, 1974) pp.33-34.

in acknowledgement of Scottish tastes, was much more secularized, more flexible and less aureate than was common in France. As we shall see, James V was an enthusiastic devotee of the cult of chivalry and, in this poem, Lindsay drew heavily upon his own chivalric background to fashion a work calculated to appeal to his royal master. Throughout the poem, the imagery resonates with the spirit of the Romance. The work opens with Lindsay's apostrophe to the villain of the piece and immediately the audience is put in mind of the battlefield:

> O Cruell Deith, to greit is thy puissance,
> Deuorar of all earthlie leuyng thingis.
> (1-2)

The poetic affiliation with the Romance is strengthened when Death is depicted as a "dreidfull Dragoun" which, with "dulefull dart" failed to spare the young bride, "of Feminine the flour" (15 & 16), the language here strongly echoing that of Dunbar whose popular lament for a knight-hero also described "duilfull death" as a "dragon dolorous".[74] Moving from the type of situation found in chivalric literature and often adopted as a motif for tournament pageantry, Lindsay goes on to introduce imagery specific to the lists:

> Had thow [Nature] with naturall targis maid defence,
> That brybour had not cummit within hir bourdis,
> (31-34)[75]

Madelaine is presented by Lindsay not only as an archetypal character from the pages of chivalric Romance but also as a lover whose relationship with James V falls strictly within the courtly love tradition. Thus, the marriage, in reality the culmination of a longstanding diplomatic arrangement facilitated by pressing strategic concerns, was eulogized as the union of such "leill luffars" as were

---

74 Elegy on the Death of Bernard Stewart, The Poems of William Dunbar, II, pp.63-64. (Chepman and Millar publication, ?1508, Aldis, A List of Books Printed in Scotland, n.p.).

75 'Targis' = shields or devices for target practice.

without equal in the Court of Venus (36-40). In order to heighten this impression, James V is compared to Leander who swam the Hellespont for love of Hero (a not wholly inappropriate reference given the difficulties of the royal visit to France) and Madelaine is praised for the constancy of Penelope (a reference to the twenty years taken for the implementation of the Treaty of Rouen). His quixotic visit to see Marie of Vendôme strongly suggests James's enthusiasm for knightly adventure, and to cast the King in the role of quintessential Romantic hero represented a calculated appeal to his tastes.

Shadows, however, exist to cloud this glittering knightly ideal. Souring the atmosphere of courtly love, Lindsay introduces an earthy realism to his lament, berating Death not so much for parting Madelaine and "hir Prince and Paramour", but for snatching the young bride before "we some fruct had of hir bodie sene" (19 & 28). The idealized *amour courtois* is more brutally undermined by The Answer to the Kingis Flyting in which the real world of the Court is exposed as a place where love is allied, not to noble ideals and chaste passion but to fornication, humiliation and venereal disease. Eschewing the picture of James as heroic lover in the knightly tradition, Lindsay describes him instead as "ane rude rubeator" and "ane Furious Fornicatour" (48 & 49). Battle themes, focused particularly upon artillery, provide much of the poem's imagery: James must 'keep his powder dry' and not 'shoot his bolt' indiscriminately. "Be war with lawbouring of your lance", Lindsay tells him (67). Instead of recalling the undoubted royal achievements in this field, the crude *double entendre* only debases the King's involvement further. Subverting images of battle and tournament to undercut James's reputation again reveals Lindsay's curiously ambivalent attitude to chivalric ideology. This is particularly surprising given both his own position and its popularity at court. Arguably, perhaps, it is these two factors - and his audience's

appreciation of them - which make his unorthodox use of chivalric ideology such an effective device for questioning the values of the court.

Much ink has been spilt debating the extent to which chivalry animated life in this period, but it seems clear that, in Scotland at least, the ethos exerted a powerful hold.[76] Within this context, the royal court was the prime focus for the most elaborate and impressive expressions of chivalric culture. It was also an area in which Lindsay, herald and latterly Lyon King of Arms, was heavily involved. Possibly the most immediate and spectacular exhibition of the Court's commitment to the chivalric spirit was the tournament. The introduction of weaponry and armour designed with safety rather than mobility or martial practicality in mind had not necessarily rendered tournaments irrelevant in terms of military training, but it had led to the development of an increasingly elaborate associated pageantry.[77] By the sixteenth century, tournaments generally consisted of a series of individual jousts rather than the earlier *tournai* (team fights or mock battles) and it was not uncommon for combat to be undertaken in the guise of some traditional chivalric adventure, the details of which were frequently drawn from the pages of Romantic literature. Certainly, such spectacle was familiar enough in Scotland. The tournament organized in June 1507 involved the construction of a 'Garden of Honour' in which was to be found the 'Tree of Esperance'

---

76 For the classic exposition of the decadence of chivalry, see: J. Huizinga, trans. & ed., F. Hopman, The Waning of the Middle Ages (London, 1924 & 1965). A similar argument is advanced by Arthur B. Ferguson, The Chivalric Tradition in Renaissance England, (Washington, London, Toronto, 1986). For an alternative view, see: Malcolm Vale, War and Chivalry: Warfare and Aristocratic Culture in England, France and Burgundy at the End of the Middle Ages (London, 1981) and Maurice Keen, Chivalry who argues that while chivalry was no longer innovative after 1500, it nevertheless flourished.

77 For this point, see: Vale, War and Chivalry, pp.78-87 and for a general discussion of the tournament and its development, p.67ff.

bearing upon its branches 'Leaves of Pleasure', 'Flowers of Nobleness' and 'Fruit of Honour'.[78] In this tournament, and that staged in May 1508, competition centred around a negress, the 'black lady' of the Treasurer's Accounts.[79] James IV's personal participation in these jousts (in 1507, he fought in the guise of the 'Wild Knight') serves to illustrate the extent of the royal commitment to the affair. Other such events organized in the course of the reign (for example, to celebrate both the royal marriage and that of the English pretender, Perkin Warbeck in 1506) lay behind Lindsay's assessment of James's Court found in The Testament of the Papyngo:

> And of his court, throuch Europe sprang the fame
> Off lustie Lordis and lufesum Ladyis ying,
> Tryumphand tornayis, iusting and knychtly game,
> With all pastyme accordyng for one kyng.
> (500-03)

Although James IV is traditionally lauded as the acme of Scottish chivalry, his son was no less of an enthusiast for the Tournament and his personal rule witnessed a continuation of royal patronage. Again the king was an ardent participant and arrangements had to be made for his "harnes, speris and uther justing geir" to be transported around the country in the wake of the royal household.[80] In addition, tournaments were often arranged for 'state-occasions'. Lindsay refers to the "aufull Tornamentis/ On hors and fute" which should have formed part of the celebrations to welcome Madelaine to Scotland in 1537 and there was jousting to mark the arrival of Mary of Guise (The Deploratioun, 169-70).[81] Lindsay, responsible for the preparation of

78 Mill, Medieval Plays, p.325-26.

79 T.A., III, p.258. It has been suggested that she was the inspiration for Dunbar's Of Ane Blak-Moir (Macdougall, James IV, pp.294-95).

80 T.A., VII, p.165 & 517.

81 Expenses are recorded for 'the listis and compter listis' erected at St Andrews for Mary's arrival (Accounts of the Masters of Works, I, p.221).

such events, would have been thoroughly familiar with all aspects of them. His expertise is finely demonstrated in The Historie of Squyer Meldrum which relates - at not inconsiderable length - the arrangements surrounding the joust between the English champion, Sir Talbart, and the eponymous Squire (245-594). This passage provides a detailed description of the joust's progress including the issuing of the challenge, the preparation of the knights, the assembly of the crowd, the actual confrontation and the reactions of victor and vanquished. The role of the heralds was, of course, not overlooked by this particular poet and the passages describing their duties tellingly convey the highly-charged atmosphere of the occasion:

> The Heraldis put thame [the crowd] sa in ordour,
> That no man passit within the bordour,
> Nor preissit to cum within the grene
> Bot Heraldis and the Campiounis Kene
> (437-40)

> Than Trumpotis blew & Clariounis,
> And Heraldis cryit hie on hicht,
> Now let thame go. God schaw the richt.
> (446-48)

Although this dramatic encounter takes place in France, it is probably fair to say that the piece provides a vivid insight into jousting as practised in Renaissance Scotland. This is not to neglect the fact that Lindsay was acquainted with chivalric ceremonial outwith Scotland. He referred to the "martial tournamentis" arranged for the Scottish Court in France (The Deploratioun, 61) and, during his visit to the Low Countries in 1531, he witnessed "triwmphand justynis,...terribill turnememts...feychtyn of fut in barras".[82] In his letter from Antwerp, Lindsay told the Scottish Secretary that he had written of these events "at lenth, in articles, to schaw the Kyngis grace at my haym cumin". Unfortunately, Lindsay's account no longer survives, but that he

---

82 B.M. Cotton MS. Caligula B.I. fol.313.

thought to offer it in the first instance is powerful testimony to James's well-known predilection for the pursuits of chivalry, and also reflects the Scottish King's eagerness to ensure that he was *au fait* with the latest in European spectacle.

Although the tournament was possibly the most immediately impressive statement a monarch could make of his commitment to the values of chivalry, it was not the only manifestation of allegiance found within the court context. The popular literature of the period and that specifically commissioned by James V (the translations of John Bellenden) were decidedly chivalric in character. Books of instruction, again essentially chivalric in tone, such as The Buke of Gude Counsall to the King and The Porteous of Nobleness and works such as The Knightly Tale of Golagros and Gawane, Sir Eglamoure of Artoys and The ballad of...lord Barnard Stewart (all Chepman and Millar publications) testify to the popular appeal of this particular literary genre.[83] Certainly Lindsay was very familiar with such works and references to them throughout his poetry clearly reveal the existence of an audience eager for such literature.[84]

A further clue to the prevailing chivalric ethos may be found in Lindsay's poem, The Testament of the Papyngo. When the dying bird casts her mind back to the various homes in which she has spent her life, she bids farewell to Stirling Castle with the words:

> Adew, fair Snawdoun, with thy touris hie
> Thy Chapell royall, Park, and tabyll rounde.
> (633-34)

---

83 Aldis, A List of Books Printed in Scotland, n.p. (Presumably this only represents a fraction of the total material printed but no longer extant.) See also the long list of works found in The Complaynt of Scotland, pp.49-51.

84 Lindsay refers to Golagros and Gawane in The Historie of Squyer Meldrum, 1315 and to Gawane alone in The Cupar Banns, 246. For a complete list of Lindsay's references to Romance characters, see: Hamer, Works, IV, pp.302-05.

The 'Round Table' was the name formerly given to the 'King's Knot', an ornamental garden sited close to the tiltyard.[85] It was additionally a permanent reminder of the old legend recalling King Arthur's preservation of his Table in Stirling Castle.[86] This longstanding Arthurian association may well have inspired chivalric pageantry. The re-enactment of scenes from Arthurian Romance was a popular theme and a highly formalized type of tournament, itself called a 'round table', had been common at least until the end of the fourteenth century.[87] Even if the 'round table tournament' had fallen into abeyance, it is likely that the basic motif retained its popularity.[88] This supposition is reinforced by the possibility that the Court of James IV also saw such "counterfutting of the round tabill of King Arthour of Ingland", specifically during the great tournament of 1508.[89] Certainly, there were jousts held at Stirling on more than one occasion during the 1530s and it is not, therefore, impossible that the "tabyll rounde" fondly remembered by the Papyngo, herself an heraldic bird, was not simply a physical feature but rather a potent chivalric symbol of Stewart court culture.[90]

---

85 Eric Stair-Kerr, Stirling Castle, Its Place in Scottish History (Stirling, 2nd edn., 1928) pp.151-52.

86 This is repeated, for example, by the fifteenth century traveller, William of Worcester (John H. Harvey, ed., William Worcestre, Itineraries (Oxford, 1969) p.7).

87 D'Arcy Jonathon Dacre Boulton, The Knights of the Crown: The Monarchical Orders of Knighthood in Later Medieval Europe, 1325-1520 (Woodbridge, 1987) p.13.

88 Gilbert Hay's popular translation listed the holding of a 'round table' amongst the accomplishments of the ideal knight (The Buke of the Order of Knychthede, p.23).

89 John Lesley: The History of Scotland, p.78. Macdougall suggests that this, plus the naming of James's elder brother, Arthur, was intended not so much to recall the Round Table Romances but the deceased prince of England and, hence, to draw attention to James IV's closeness to the English throne (James IV, p.295.)

90 Accounts of the Masters of Works, I, p.227, 228 & 289.

A further typical manifestation of chivalric culture at courts throughout Europe during the later Middle Ages and beyond was the existence of a lay order of knighthood identified with the sovereign. Such orders often did more than proclaim allegiance to the knightly cult, they also possessed the potential to engage chivalric values in the pursuit of political aims, binding the aristocracy together in the service of the sovereign.[91] The lay orders of Europe varied considerably, but a meaningful system of classification has been suggested by Boulton in the course of his comprehensive analysis of what he calls the 'Monarchical Order'.[92] This order was characterized by a monarchical constitution: the hereditary presidential office being attached to the princely founder who normally exercised some considerable control over the order, its members and its activities.[93] Two of the most renowned European monarchical orders were those of the Golden Fleece (Burgundian) and of the Garter (English). Both organizations numbered James V amongst their members (the invitation being extended for reasons of international diplomacy). Given James's enthusiasm for the trappings of chivalry, it is to be expected that he was appreciative of the honour. In 1538, a goldsmith received payment for the repair of "the Kingis ordour and target", suggesting that he was keen to parade his regalia before an admiring court.[94] It may even be that the 'ordour' referred to was not one which James had received from any foreign prince but the Scottish Order of the Thistle. Little is known of the early history of the Thistle before its revival by James VII in 1687 although it has been suggested that it was founded by

91 Vale, War and Chivalry, pp.33-62.

92 Boulton, The Knights of the Crown pp.xvii-xxi.

93 Ibid., p.xvii.

94 T. A., V, p.394. (A 'target' was an ornament in the shape of a shield generally worn in one's hat.)

James III as early as 1470.[95] It has also been argued that until its reorganization the Thistle was probably not a monarchical order at all but simply a glorified retinue, which, without a proper constitution, only enjoyed the misnomer 'Order' on account of the misdirected enthusiasm of a prince bent on emulating his European counterparts.[96] Given Scottish determination to place the Court firmly within the mainstream of fashionable European culture, it would have been unlikely had there not been at least some attempt to imitate the great monarchical orders, potent symbols of the chivalric virtue and political authority of their founders. Fragmentary evidence suggests that James V at least entertained such notions. Firstly, we have the observations of Chapuys, Imperial ambassador at the English Court at the time when the decision was made to offer James the Order of the Garter:[97]

> I am told by a Scotch doctor of theology that the king declined to any oath, putting it off till he should have got ready his Order, so that he and Henry might take reciprocal oaths at the same time.[98]

If Chapuys is to be believed, the words of his source do suggest that the Scottish King would have liked to have been able to compete with his uncle in what was almost a game of chivalric 'one-upmanship'. (It may also be that James's desire for reciprocal oaths was not simply a matter of chivalric pride, but was the product of painfully acquired knowledge regarding the exploitation of ambiguous oaths to suit English imperial ambitions.) The exact phrase used by Chapuys was "dressé son

---

95 Boulton, The Knights of the Crown, p.399.

96 It was, according to Bolton, a 'Cliental Pseudo-Order' (ibid., p.xx).

97 For background to the offer (an English attempt to curry Scottish favour and deter James from a proposed Imperial marriage alliance) see: James V, Letters, p.285 & 297.

98 L.& P. Henry VIII, VIII, nos.429 & 430.

Figure Four

Linlithgow Palace, South Gate
Courtesy of Historic Scotland

Figure Five

Linlithgow Palace, South Gate
Detail of panel bearing the arms of the Thistle
Courtesy of Historic Scotland

ordre" and it is not altogether clear whether James had simply to make arrangements for Henry's installation or whether more basic arrangements had to be made for the revivification of the Order itself. However, other scraps of evidence also point to the existence of an established order during this period, an order particularly associated with James V. The south gate of Linlithgow Palace, constructed by James in the 1530s, bears four panels depicting, not only the insignia of the Golden Fleece, the Garter and St Michael, but also that of the Thistle. While these appear to date from the nineteenth century, it has been suggested that they are replicas of the previous designs - although ignorance regarding the Thistle's early history has thrown the whole issue into confusion.[99] Additionally, we have an anonymous late sixteenth century portrait of James V which depicts him wearing the Collar of the Thistle. Obviously this is not painted from life, yet other portraits in the same set suggest that, where possible, the artist used available likenesses.[100] The Seton Armorial (a heraldic manuscript produced around the year 1591) also portrays James in this characteristic regalia.[101] More convincingly, we also have a contemporary depiction of the Order (or something very akin to the Collar we know today). The magnificent illustration of the Royal Arms in Lindsay's own Armorial Manuscript (reproduced by Davidson for The

---

99 See Figures Four and Five. Royal Commission on Ancient and Historic Monuments of Scotland: Midlothian and West Lothian (Edinburgh, 1929) p.220, cf. Caroline Bingham, James V, King of Scots 1512-1542 (London, 1971) p.171. I am grateful to Dr Mason who first alerted me to the existence of these panels.

100 See Figure Six. The portrait part of a set comprising portraits of James I to V. That of James III, for example, bears a strong resemblance to the likeness found on the 3/4 face groat.

101 ADV. MS ACC. 9309, fol.19. Intriguingly, James III and James IV (fols 16 & 18) are also shown wearing the Order but here it looks very much like a later addition - particularly in the case of James III where the collar falls unnaturally over his right hand the outline of which shines through the gold paint.

Figure Six

James V by an anonymous artist
Courtesy of the Scottish National Portrait Gallery

Acts of Parliament and Bellenden's Chronicles) proudly displays the collar of thistles and its characteristic medallion showing St Andrew with his cross.[102] It does seem, therefore, that the Order was an important symbol of Scottish chivalry, one which clearly associated chivalric ideology with the person of the King. As such, it assuredly contributed to the chivalric ethos of court culture. As nothing is known of the Thistle's activities or constitution, it is impossible to gauge the extent to which it also acted in the service of the Crown. However, it is likely that James V, like his European counterparts, would have appreciated the political advantages of monopolizing power and honour in this way.

Heralds such as Lindsay were involved not only in the staging of tournaments and chivalric pageantry, but also in what might be termed the 'state occasions' of public ceremony: royal coronations, funerals and, above all, royal entries. The interaction between text and audience noted with regard to courtly literature now operated in a broader social context. Not only did the 'text', in the case of entries the staged tableaux and dramas, have a much larger, socially more diverse, audience; but, financed and organized by the burgh councils, it voiced the expectations of the Crown's citizens rather than those of the Crown itself. As has been observed, the entry acted as "a vehicle for dialogue between a ruler and the urban classes".[103] It represented the ritualized acknowledgment of both change and continuity possessing important political symbols for both ruler and ruled. On the one hand, it betokened a reaffirmation of fealty (hence the traditional stress upon the king's legitimacy) which was coupled with reminders of how the new king was expected to behave. On the

---

102 See Figure One, the Royal Arms from Lindsay's Armorial Manuscript.

103 Roy Strong, Art and Power; Renaissance Festivals 1450-1650 (Woodbridge, 1984, 2nd edn.) p.11.

other, it represented an opportunity for the Crown to confirm the town in its rights and privileges. Additionally, a royal entry provided the burgh with the opportunity to demonstrate its wealth and importance. Lavish gifts were made, the streets rang with music and fountains flowed with wine - it must have been a day eagerly awaited by the ordinary townsfolk.

The earliest known account of a Scottish royal entry is, in fact, penned by an Englishman, the herald who accompanied Margaret Tudor north in 1503.[104] He describes how, even before Edinburgh was reached, the party was delayed by the spectacle of one knight robbing another of his paramour, an event which allowed James to appear in his dual role as knightly defender and wise judge, restoring harmony by breaking up the brawl and ordering "a varey fayr Torney" to determine the issue. Once in Edinburgh, the royal couple was met by a procession which accompanied them past various tableaux and finally into Church. The handing over of keys signified the welcome of the new Queen while the kissing of holy relics sanctified the occasion, drawing Margaret into the spiritual life of the city. Three tableaux depicting the judgement of Paris, the annunciation and the marriage of the Virgin juxtaposed the physical and holy aspects of matrimony, while that showing the four cardinal virtues, each with her foot on the neck of some reprobate (Nero, Holofernes, Epicurus and Sardanapalus), may have expressed the hope that Margaret's influence would suppress any immoral tendencies in her wayward husband.

William Dunbar's poem, Blyth Aberdein, also illustrates something of the circumstances surrounding Margaret's entry to that city in May 1511.[105] Dunbar describes the Queen's reception by the burgesses and

104 Leland, "An Account of the Marriage between James IV and Margaret Tudor", pp.288-91.

105 The Poems of William Dunbar, II, pp.251-53.

her passage through the town beneath a red velvet canopy. The various tableaux which greeted her included depictions of the Virgin Mary, of Christ's nativity and of the expulsion of Adam and Eve from Paradise. The nativity offering made by the three kings probably corresponded to an actual gift presented by the town. As these actor-kings were "schawand him [Christ] king with most magnificence", so the burgesses were acknowledging Margaret's sovereignty (28). In addition to these Biblical scenes (derived almost certainly from the traditional municipal miracle plays) the theme of legitimacy was underlined with representations of Robert Bruce, "nobill, dreidfull, michtie campioun", and of the "nobill Stewarts" bearing green leafy branches (35 & 36). Thus was Margaret reminded both of her husband's noble lineage and of her part in the dynasty's future flourishing. Whether Lindsay was part of the royal visitation is not clear. He was almost certainly at Court at this date and associated with the Queen's household. Unfortunately, the accounts covering the period are missing and details of the trip are scanty. Nevertheless, even if not actually present himself, both Lindsay's position and Dunbar's poem assuredly guaranteed his familiarity with the proceedings.

Evidence for Lindsay's own involvement in the preparation of royal entries relates to three occasions: the abortive arrangements made for the 1537 reception of Madelaine and those for the entries of Mary of Guise to St Andrews and Edinburgh the following year. The Deploratioun of the Deith of Quene Magdalene is more than a lament for James V's young bride. With its magnificent descriptions of James's own reception in Paris and of the preparations planned in Edinburgh, it represents a powerful evocation of the splendour of the King and the type of ceremony which surrounded his office. It is the detailed nature of this description which suggests Lindsay's close involvement in the preparations, confirming what might have been expected given his

position. Many of the arrangements planned for Madelaine's entry duplicate those made over twenty five years earlier in Aberdeen. The Queen was to have been met by the city's burgesses, she would have passed through the streets beneath a canopy (this time of gold cloth) and have witnessed various - unspecified - tableaux. The air was to have been filled with music and once again the fountains should have run with wine. The Deploratioun also demonstrates that Lindsay was not unaware of contemporary developments in European court pageantry. The increasing employment of imperial imagery derived largely from humanist scholarship has been well documented particularly in connection with the French royal entries of the sixteenth century.[106] This trend - stunningly exemplified by Charles IX's Parisian entry in 1571 - also influenced the celebrations for James's marriage on 1 January 1537. Lindsay describes James's entry into Paris, "throw Arkis triumphall" (73).[107] Underlining the point and making absolutely clear the cultural frame of reference, he continues:

> For as Pompey, efter his Uictorie,
> Was in to Rome resauit with greit Ioy,
> So thou [Paris] resauit our richt redoutit Roy.
> (75-77)

Although Michael Lynch is probably correct to consider the baptism of James VI in 1566 the first full blown Renaissance spectacle seen in Scotland, The Deploratioun demonstrates that the foundations for such pageantry had been laid several decades previously.[108] While there is

---

106 Frances A. Yates, Astraea: The Imperial Theme in the Sixteenth Century (London & Boston, 1975) esp. pp.127-48, Penny Richards, "Rouen and the Golden Age: the Entry of Francis I, 2 August 1517", in C. T. Allmand, ed., Power, Culture and Religion in France c.1350-c.1550 (Woodbridge, 1989) pp.117-130.

107 For illustrations of French triumphal arches, see: Lawrence M. Bryant, The King and the City in the Parisian Royal Entry Ceremony: Politics, Ritual and Art in the Renaissance (Geneva, 1986) figs. 3, 5, 8 (1549) & 20, 21, 27, 28, 36 (1571). Also, Yates, Astraea, plates 18a-19b.

108 This is not to suggest that Scottish pageantry was hitherto devoid of any classical content. Margaret's Edinburgh entry of 1503

little to suggest that the Scots planned the wholesale adoption of the imperial theme which characterized French fêtes, there are isolated references to continental practices. For example, alongside the traditional elements of Madelaine's entry outlined above,

> [They] suld have hard the ornate Oratouris
> Makand hir hienes Salutatioun,
> Boith of the Clergy, toun, and counsalouris,
> With mony Notable Narratioun.
> (162-65)

The use of the "Oratouris" (a contemporary term for humanists) points to an identification with Renaissance-style ceremony. The content of the orators' planned address is unfortunately lost, but it is surely significant that when Mary of Guise entered Edinburgh in July 1538, the welcoming speech delivered by Henry Lawder was "devysit with avyse of Maister Adame Otterburn, Maister James Foulis and Dauid Lyndsay".[109] Although this oration was delivered in French (no doubt both a concession to the audience and a tribute to the Queen), as we have seen, Otterburn and, more especially, Foulis were accomplished neo-Latin poets and foremost amongst the Scottish humanists at the Court of James V. Their employment here surely suggests that royal entries in this period combined something of the New Learning with more traditional celebrations.

While we know that Lindsay had an influential role in Mary's Edinburgh entry (his advice being sought "anent all ordour and furnesing"), the dramatic details of the occasion are lost to us. The burgh records do, however, illustrate its importance for municipal

---

depicted the Judgment of Paris. It has been suggested that this is the earliest British instance of the introduction of the classical element into pageantry, the French influence upon Scotland subsequently directing the development of English spectacle (Mill, Medieval Plays, p.81). For the 1566 fête, see: Michael Lynch, "Queen Mary's Triumph: the Baptismal Celebrations at Stirling in December 1566", S.H.R., LXIX, (1990) pp.1-21.

109 Extracts of Edinburgh Burgh Records, II, p.91.

pride: orders were issued for the cleaning of the streets and the banishment of beggars, all citizens were to wear their best clothes and strict instructions set down who was to seek the Queen's company.[110] From Pitscottie, we have a much more detailed impression of Mary's St Andrews' entry:

> And first scho was ressavit at the New Abbay geit. Wpon the eist syde thair was maid to hir ane trieumphant frais be Schir Dawid Lyndsay of the Mount, lyoun harrot, quhilk causit ane gret clude come out of the heavins done abone the yeit quhair the quene come in, and oppin in two halffis instantlie and thair apperit ane fair lady most lyke ane angell havand the keyis of haill Scotland in hir handis deliuerand thame into the quens grace in signe and taikin that the heartis of Scottland was opinit to the ressawing of hir grace.[111]

We have already seen this device in previous entries and it also featured in future ceremonies.[112] Clearly, long established ritual, confirming existing relationships and countering the threat of the new, was extremely important on these occasions. In St Andrews, Mary also received "certane wriosouns and exortatiouns" delivered this time by Lindsay himself. Although the language used can only be surmised (it was probably French), the highly conventional nature of the content is again plain. Lindsay "techit" Mary "to serue her god, obey hir husband, and kepe her body clene according to godis will and commandement". There was little that could have been added to this standard exhortation for as long as her husband lived, the Queen's role

---

110 Ibid., II, pp.89-91.

111 Pitscottie, Chronicles, I, p.379. Pitscottie describes a very similar scene enacted at the Great Tournament of 1508, '...thair comme ane clwdd out of the rwffe of the hall as appeirit to men and opnit and cleikkit vp the blak lady' (Chronicles, I, p.244). Mill suggests that this favourite device originated in the religious drama and was influenced by the Italian tradition (Medieval Plays, p.79).

112 For the use of this device in the Edinburgh entries of Mary, James VI and Anne of Denmark, see: Mary M. Bartley, "A Preliminary Study of the Scottish Royal Entries of Mary Stuart, James VI and Anne of Denmark, 1558-1603", Unpublished Ph.D Thesis, University of Michigan, (1981) pp.67-68, 108 & 167.

was a limited one. Of course, her most important charge was the production of an heir, preferably of several, but despite natural Scottish anxieties on this account, this aspect of her role was here tactfully avoided.

The increasing recourse to the imagery of classical Rome has led one historian to pronounce the imperial ideal "a necessary preliminary to the study of the ethos and symbolism of the national monarchies of Europe as they developed in the Renaissance period".[113] The 'imperial ideal' articulated through the medium of court spectacle referred not simply to the pageantry and imagery of Rome, but to the concept of empire as it related to the authority exercised by the temporal ruler within his realm. References to 'empire' and matters 'imperial', therefore, assume special significance, reinforcing ideas of national autonomy and identity. This was certainly true in England where the concept of empire was an integral element of the Henrician Reformation. However, while Lindsay did on occasion refer to James V in imperial terms, it is clear that this was not designed to make a specific political point.[114] Although Lindsay was no doubt aware of the political implications of imperial imagery and indeed was sympathetic to it, his use of such language is highly conventional (usually to flatter) and, if there is anything novel here, it is the self-conscious adoption of a 'fashionable' nomenclature designed primarily in this case to evoke the triumph and glory which was ancient Rome (perhaps only subconsciously reinforcing the national identity of the realm). Significantly perhaps when, in Ane Satyre, Divyne Correctioun urges Rex

---

113 Yates, Astraea, p.28.

114 In The Dreme, Lindsay alludes to James's 'hie Imperial blude' and addresses him as 'Excellence' (1, 6 & 50) while in The Complaynt, there is reference to his 'power Imperyall' (116). The Deploratioun describes James and Madelaine as 'Discendit boith of blude Imperiall' (41).

Humanitas to replace his corrupt clerics, the image he uses is not one of empire but congregation:

> Ye ar the head sir of this congregatioun,
> Preordinat be God omnipotent.
> (3329-30)

Symbolic expressions of kingship were also transmitted through the two most solemn ceremonies surrounding the office: the coronation and the royal funeral. As discussed previously, officers of arms played an important part in the coronation ritual, with the Lyon King affirming the king's willingness to accept the Crown, bearing one of the jugs of oil with which he was anointed, rehearsing the royal genealogy and announcing the king's arrival to his people. Lindsay himself was not involved in such a ceremony. James V was crowned at Stirling shortly after his father's death and the coronation of Mary, like her father an infant in arms, was a muted affair. However, Lindsay probably played a role in the coronation of Mary of Guise in February 1540. It was common for the coronation of a queen consort to be delayed until the new bride had proven her worth and Mary was no exception. Prince James was born in May 1540, three months after his mother's coronation and preparations for the event date from what was probably the announcement of her pregnancy the previous October when John Mosman received payment "for making of the Quenis crowne and furnesing of stanis thairto".[115] Payments are also recorded for the gilding of her silver sceptre, for the hanging of tapestries, for the transportation of "the chapell gair" from the Chapel Royal and the expenses of eleven chaplains, for boards erected in the Abbey (of Holyrood), for munitions transported to Edinburgh Castle and for summoning "the dammes" and "ladyis".[116] Little is known of the actual ceremony (which presumably differed quite

---

115 T.A., VII, p.254.

116 Ibid., VII, p.285-6, 294, 280, 297, 487, 347, 282 & 302.

considerably from that of the sovereign himself) although we do know that the occasion was celebrated in the traditional fashion with jousts and tournaments.[117]

The 1530s saw new regalia prepared not only for Mary of Guise but also for James V. Indeed, James appears to have nursed a peculiar obsession with this particular symbol of his authority. The early 1530s saw various repairs to the royal crown and, in February 1540, in time for his wife's coronation, he took delivery of a new crown, fashioned of Scottish gold and encrusted with twenty three jewels including three great garnets and an emerald.[118] In this respect, it seems that imperial connotations were being more consciously evoked - it is surely significant that this new crown was crafted after the imperial fashion with a closed diadem. Imperial crowns had become popular in Europe during the late fifteenth century, and although James was probably the first Stewart monarch to have one actually made, coins issued by his grandfather depict a closed crown.[119] The emergence and gradual acceptance of the idea of an imperial Scottish crown can also be seen from three depictions of the Royal Arms. A late fifteenth century roll of Arms (incorporated into an English collection and probably compiled in England) depicts the traditional open crown.[120] So too does a sketch made in the Exchequer records by a royal official in 1538.[121] Significantly, however, when Lindsay drew up his Armorial

117 Expenses for 'the quenis grace coronatioun and listis' were incurred at Holyrood (Accounts of the Master of Works, I, p.288).

118 For the repairs, see: T.A., VI, p.25, 73 & 179, for the new crown, VII, 278 & 285. Further gold was needed for the crowns of both King and Queen in June 1542, VIII, p.82.

119 Papers Relative to the Royal Regalia of Scotland (Bannatyne Club, 1829) pp.21-22.

120 B.M. ADD. MS 45133, fol.46^{v}.

121 S.R.O. E31/8. Reproduced in The Queen and the Scots: Life in 16th Century Scotland (S.R.O. Exhibition Text 21) Doc.4.

Register four years later (and after James had refashioned his regalia), the Crown of Scotland he depicts is an imperial one.[122] Although no doubt partly inspired by the desire to follow continental fashion, the adoption of the imperial crown seems a much clearer indication that the Stewarts, James V in particular, were both aware of the political messages implicit in such imperial imagery and prepared to use it.

One crucial symbolic expression of kingship beyond James's control was his own funeral. Studies - particularly of the French Renaissance funeral ceremony - have highlighted the implications which such an occasion had for the perception of kings and kingship.[123] Unfortunately, evidence relating to Scotland remains patchy and a fully comprehensive analysis is unlikely. Nevertheless, the royal funeral deserves attention, especially as it represented another sphere of public spectacle in which Lindsay was involved. Heralds exercised responsibility for ordering the obsequies of royalty and nobility alike and the heraldic funeral was a complex and extravagant affair which underlined the social importance of the departed.[124] Like the entry, it countered potential disruption by rigorous adherence to a prescribed formula which stressed the essential continuity of the noble house or royal dynasty. At the same time, it served to glorify the ideal of the chivalric knight and in this way to legitimate the pursuit of arms.[125]

---

122 ADV. MS 31.4.3. fol.2. So too of all the crowns shown on the arms of Scotland's queens, only those of St Margaret, Madelaine and Mary of Guise are styled after the imperial fashion (fols 17-24).

123 Ralph E. Giesey, The Royal Funeral Ceremony in Renaissance France (Geneva 1960).

124 For further details concerning (English) heraldic funerals, see: Clare Gittings, Death, Burial and the Individual in Early Modern England (London & Sydney, 1984) pp.167-187 and: Vale, War and Chivalry, pp.90-93.

125 Vale, War and Chivalry, p.92.

Lindsay's poem, The Testament of Squyer Meldrum (which contains a detailed description of a typical heraldic funeral, organized in this instance by the eponymous squire's old friend, Lindsay himself) powerfully suggests that this relationship between the sacred and the secular, the Christian and the chivalric, was not always perceived as complementary. As we shall see, by the time Lindsay wrote this poem (c.1550), he felt deeply uneasy with the tenets of what was an essentially martial code. This is particularly apparent in his treatment of the funeral with its incongruous references to the Squire's past love affairs and to the pagan deities whose presence is more vividly invoked than that of the Holy Spirit. Lindsay's impatience with the extravagant rites of the heraldic ceremony is strongly felt when he juxtaposes the virtuous Squire's claim that throughout his life he "neuer tuik na cures/ Of conquessing of riches nor of Rent" with his desire for the most lavish of burials ("The Testament", 38-39). The wishes of Squire Meldrum include a costly embalmment (his heart and tongue to rest in separate jewelled caskets), an expensively carved cedar or cypress coffin, a carved marble tomb and an elaborate funeral procession, the mourners to comprise thousands of armed soldiers and footmen and one hundred mounted knights. In time-honoured fashion, the Squire's arms and weapons were to be borne before the altar.

The Testament of Squyer Meldrum provides, therefore, a vivid impression of the nature of the heraldic funeral in Renaissance Scotland. It is likely that this poetic description, concerning as it does the internment of an old friend, depicts the type of lavish ceremony more normally accorded great magnates rather than minor squires. The royal funeral of James V in 1542 would have been a similar, perhaps even more splendid, affair. Royal funerals, particularly those in England and France, were impressive

manifestations of the dignity, power and splendour of the royal estate and one would venture that the close cultural links the self-consciously European Scots enjoyed with both these countries would have engendered a fierce desire to emulate, as far as more limited means allowed, the ceremonies of their neighbours.[126] James V - unusually for a Stewart monarch - died in his bed and consequently his funeral, with no immediate precedent, offered the opportunity to model the proceedings on European patterns. Evidence relating to James's funeral is, however, frustratingly scanty (two pages of the Treasurers' Accounts covering the crucial period are missing), but what there is does tend to support such a view.[127] Payments were recorded for the "clayth of stait" which seems to have been of black velvet with a white satin cross, lined with black buckram and fringed with black silk. The "Dolorous Chapell" was painted with clubs and spears "all of blak collouris" and payment made for the timber needed to prepare the church. This was authorized by Lindsay, who in his capacity as Lyon King of Arms also arranged payment for sixteen foot of cast lead (presumably for the coffin) and for the masonry on the tomb. He also ordered gold cloth, purple taffeta, red cord and red and gold silk for the royal coat of arms. In addition, a banner was painted with "gold and fyne collouris", the same artist also being employed for the colouring and painting of an effigy, crown, sceptre and shield. The reference to an effigy is of particular interest. Royal funeral effigies seem to have appeared first in England in 1327 (possibly as a consequence of the dubious circumstances under which Edward II met his death). Thereafter, they became a regular feature of English royal

126 Detailed accounts of the funerals of Henry VIII and Francis I (1547) can be found in Gittings, Death, Burial and the Individual, pp.216-20 and Giesey, The Royal Funeral Ceremony, p.2ff. respectively.

127 T.A., VIII, pp.141-144.

obsequies and, after 1422, were also adopted by the French. It has been suggested that the display of the effigy represented an inversion of the natural order whereby the normally invisible body politic of the king was, for once, on display, while his visible natural body lay hidden in the coffin.[128] Symbolically - and constitutionally - the king never dies. The significance of the effigy in England and France was not, however, the same. In the former it played a more pragmatic role as the focus of attention during the lengthy internment arrangements and did not, as in France, possess the profound symbolic meaning which leads one historian to describe it as "the chief actor in a full-fledged ritual of state".[129] The origins of this veneration of the effigy were classical rather than ecclesiastical in character, reinforcing the development of a new triumphal element into the proceedings analogous to that noted earlier in the pageantry associated with the living sovereign.[130] The extent to which the Scottish royal funeral effigy symbolized such ideas remains debatable, but its introduction into Scotland certainly suggests the attempted emulation of European Renaissance ceremony. (A manuscript illustration of the funeral of Alexander III - admittedly almost two hundred and fifty years earlier - depicts a much simpler affair - the royal coffin is modestly covered, there is no regalia and no effigy.[131])

The splendour attached to court ceremonial, especially as developed in England and France, complemented trends which served to promote the concept of a somewhat isolated and idealized monarch. As Lindsay's travels made him appreciate, this was more pronounced in

---

128 Kantorwitcz, The King's Two Bodies, p.423.

129 Giesey, The Royal Funeral Ceremony, p.85.

130 Ibid., p.121 and Kantorwitcz, The King's Two Bodies, p.427.

131 D. E. R. Watt, ed., Scotichronicon by Walter Bower in Latin and English (Aberdeen, 1987-) V, at p.288.

England and France than in Scotland where limited finances and a less deferential attitude influenced ideas of kingship. The relatively casual treatment accorded the monarch was certainly apparent to contemporaries and an English observer, watching the arrival of the Scottish marriage party in France, was moved to comment that James V and his gentlemen used themselves so "universally" that none could judge which was king.[132] In a similar vein, Henry VIII, attempting to persuade his nephew of the financial benefits of schism, argued that such a course of action would allow James to abandon such money-making schemes as sheep-farming, an undignified occupation for one of royal blood.[133] Interestingly, one of the most popular Scottish sources for ideas concerning kingship, Hay's Governaunce of Princes, endorsed this idea of the aloof monarch, quoting with approval the Byzantine custom of royal segregation:

> It efferis nocht till a prince and namely tyll a king to be oure familiare, na have mekle hantyng na communicacioun with his lauly subjectis.[134]

A less rigorous approach is found in the fifteenth century Romance Lancelot of the Laik.[135] Although Amytans warns Arthur against being "oure fameliar", this serves principally to qualify his earlier advice to travel throughout the kingdom, to stay in every part of the realm, to meet his subjects of all estates, to feast them and hold all "in gladnes cumpany" (1697 & 1693). That the Scots responded to this rather than to Hay's more austere advice is evidenced by the popularity of James IV and the reputation acquired by the legendary goodwill

---

132 L.& P. Henry VIII. XI, no.631.

133 Ibid., XV, no.136.

134 Hay, The Governaunce of Princis, p.93.

135 M. M. Gray, ed., Lancelot of the Laik (S.T.S., 1912) pp.50-51. This is a Scottish version of a thirteenth century French work.

displayed by James V as he travelled his realm in disguise.[136] Lindsay certainly endorsed this type of thinking and the character of Rex Humanitas vividly illustrates that, far from standing aloof from his humble subjects, the king has a duty to acquaint himself with their problems and aspirations.

Through the literature of the court and the pageantry of state occasion, a range of kingship images was created. The reign of James V in particular witnessed a diversity of contrasting images with the King being variously presented as ideal prince, glorious knight, courtly lover, patron of Art and learning and even the enthusiastic participant in more undignified romps. It is a comment on the talent and flexibility of the part time poets and pageant-masters that such variety existed within a recognizably coherent court culture. This is not to suggest that these images were necessarily bound together harmoniously. As we have seen, representations of kingship frequently expressed political aspirations which, given the nature of all aspirations, frequently went unrealized. This left the poet with two basic options, either he could paper over the cracks, his poetry suggesting that what should be is, or he could expose the gulf between the ideal and the real, calling - subtly or otherwise - for reform. As this discussion has shown, both stratagems were adopted by Lindsay, although even apparently laudatory works were undercut by a more realistic, less encomiastic, approach. As Lindsay himself commented, poetry conquers mortality and reputation defeats death (The Deploratioun, 194-96). But while this is certainly true, the work of court poets, not least his own, served to render this a more dubious legacy than might otherwise be expected.

---

136 These stories, for which there is no contemporary evidence, can be found in Bingham James V, pp.90-94. The fact that they were such an important aspect of James's reputation is what is significant in this context.

Chapter Six

Community and Commonweal

Although dominating Lindsay's political analysis, the figure of the King did not of course exist in conceptual isolation. We have already seen that the monarch was tightly bound by a perceived double obligation - to God on the one hand and to his subjects on the other. This chapter examines the relationship between the King and his people by looking more fully at Lindsay's presentation of the sovereign-subject bond, the language used to articulate it, its derivation and application, its modification in the light of changing perceptions and circumstances and the implications which this has for understanding Scottish social and political attitudes in the first half of the sixteenth century. It will be swiftly apparent that Lindsay's socio-political analysis was fundamentally dependent upon the idea of "the commonweal", royal responsibility for which, along with obligation to divine precept, provided the essential framework for monarchical government. Quite what Lindsay meant by this term is examined in detail below, but it is clear that the maintenance of the commonweal is synonymous with good kingship. The king, "Quha tyll the Commoun-weil hes ay bene kynd", is its protector and guardian (Ane Satyre, 2554). Gradually, however, this paternalistic view is displaced by one in which the idea of the commonweal, dynamic rather than passive, emerges as the dominant element of the discussion. This subtle shift in the equation, epitomised in Ane Satyre of the Thrie Estatis, is hardly surprising given the fact that after 1542 Scotland had neither an adult king nor the prospect of one for some time to come. Indeed, it is testimony to the enduring importance of the king that, despite Lindsay's attempts to modify his political analysis, he remained such a prominent feature of his thinking.

Changes in the political *status quo* coupled with Lindsay's own fluctuating fortunes during this period have further implications for his work. Unsurprisingly, once no longer associated so closely with the administration, Lindsay's poetry is no longer what we might term 'court poetry', written for a courtly audience. Instead, his audience is much more socially diverse, encompassing not only the élite and those bound by their common association with the king, but the various strata of the local community. As we have seen, kingship and good government, two of Lindsay's most durable themes, receive powerful expression in his later works. Now, however, they are lifted from the intimate environment of the Court and set in a much broader socio-political context. Although it is wrong to suggest that none of Lindsay's earlier poetry operated on this level, this shift is nicely illustrated by looking at his discussion both of patronage and sexual morality. The former is dealt with in such specifically court poems as The Complaynt and The Confessioun of Bagsche, the latter in Answer to the Kingis Flyting, all of which, as we have seen, depend for their effect upon the evocation of the Court and the knowledge of the poet's own position within it. Both themes reappear in Ane Satyre but here the setting is broader, the action taking us beyond the court and into the wider realm. Rex Humanitas's sexual conduct - the symbol of a more general incapacity - has implications for the government of the whole kingdom and all its subjects. Additionally, in Lindsay's later works (notably Ane Satyre), we also detect the emergence of more specific social and political criticisms which as well as adding greater urgency and import to his vision of political reformation also serve to complicate it. By considering Lindsay not as 'poet of the Court' but as 'poet of the Commonweal', this chapter concludes our analysis of his discussion of government in sixteenth century Scotland.

Lindsay's conceptualization of society depended upon two essential ideas - one extremely conventional, the other a relative newcomer to Scottish political discourse. Firstly, he utilized the ultra-traditional framework of a divinely ordained, strictly hierarchical society bound together by a mutual concern for the common good on earth and spiritual salvation in the hereafter. From the king downwards, each element within this society had its part to play and, although sympathetic to the plight of the oppressed, Lindsay offered no radical redefinition of the social *status quo*. It is completely misleading to refer to him as in any way "democratic or revolutionary".[1] He stresses the interdependence of society's members, of rich and poor and, in a traditional enough fashion, calls for an improvement in the lives of the latter. But Divyne Correctioun's reforming mission operates strictly within the established social hierarchy:

> To rich and pure I beir ane equall band,
> That thay may liue into thair awin degrie.
> (Ane Satyre, 1599-1600)

This applies not only to Divyne Correctioun. Preservation of this god-given social arrangement, hierarchical yet harmonious, is equally the duty of earthly kings. As Ireland stated, the King must cause all men "to lif of thar awne eftir thar state".[2] The only social equality understood by Lindsay and his contemporaries was an equality of effort in spiritual and secular affairs alike. As depicted in The Dreme, Hell is populated by all ranks of society and men of every calling. With regard to earthly conduct, John the Commonweal declares it "Gods awin biddin/ All Christian men to wirk for thair living" (Ane Satyre, 2595-

---

1 J. Schwend, "The Scottish Kirk in Medieval and Renaissance Literature", Brycht Lanternis, pp.273-284, p.281. See also the description of the 'stirring and democratic truth' conveyed by Ane Satyre, Roderick Watson, The Literature of Scotland (Basingstoke & London, 1984) p.86.

2 Ireland, The Meroure of Wyssdome, Books VI & VII, p.135.

96). While it is with respect to the poor that this particular observation is made, it possesses much wider implications and even kingship, as depicted by Lindsay, represents an onerous and demanding responsibility.

An amusing example of Lindsay's social conservatism is The Iusting betuix Iames Watsoun and Iohne Barbour which describes a competition between these two humble household servants. The poem is part of a well established literary tradition which includes such works as Dunbar's Turnament and, although Lindsay's use of two recognizable contemporary figures may have had a personal, even malicious, purpose, the basic joke was against the stereotypical lower classes attempting - and ludicrously failing - to overturn the natural social order.[3] This type of humour was extremely popular and was used by Lindsay on more than one occasion, notably in the comic scenes in Ane Satyre.

Lindsay's attitude, however, was not as simplistic as this might suggest. Even within one work (Ane Satyre, for example), we find crude popular stereotypes along with a more thoughtful analysis. The traditional tripartite division of society differentiated according to function (those who fight, those who pray and those who labour) was powerfully ingrained in Scotland's political consciousness. Indeed, even after 1587 and the introduction into parliament of the shire commissioners or lairds, the old estate terminology still prevailed.[4] It is not therefore surprising to encounter it in Lindsay's work.[5] Nevertheless, exactly what this tells us about conceptions of society

3 The Poems of William Dunbar, I, pp.122-26. Hamer lists other poems in this tradition, Works, III, p.141. See too: Allan H. Maclaine, "The *Christis Kirk* Tradition: Its Evolution in Scots Poetry to Burns", S.S.L, 2, (1964-65) 4 parts, ii, pp.111-124.

4 Julian Goodare, "Parliament and Society in Scotland, 1560-1603", Unpublished Ph.D. Thesis, Edinburgh University, (1989) p.58.

5 For the use of the estates in literature, see: Ruth Mohl, The Three Estates in Medieval and Renaissance Literature (New York, 1933).

is not altogether straightforward. Descriptions of social stratification are difficult to analyse at the best of times. Very often what is common knowledge is left unsaid or else is expressed through well-worn but hardly realistic social stereotypes - an easy shorthand method of describing a more complex reality. This is particularly true with respect to drama where stock characters have a function beyond that of social description. However, Lindsay is able to use the traditional estate genre to pass comment on aspects of social position and to stress ideas of social cohesion and mutual interdependence.

Although Lindsay can hardly be expected to provide a coherent and systematic social analysis, his treatment of the traditional estate motif does suggest something of the way in which society was conceived and discussed. We should note that beyond the Pauline injunction to work and the broad theme of moral virtue, Lindsay has little to say concerning the conduct of the poor. Instead, they are used to throw into relief the attitudes expected of society's leaders - the three estates. One of the most intriguing features of Lindsay's Satyre is its title, for while the satire is ostensibly directed against all three estates, the attack is very unevenly launched. Mordant criticism of the Church is simultaneously amusing and deadly serious in intent.[6] The treatment of the third estate is much more burlesque, the crude stereotypes designed as much to amuse as to criticize, yet the satire of the second estate is notably less developed. This is nicely illustrated by the asymmetrical manner in which Lindsay deals with the relationship between the three Vices and the three estates, a relationship which is almost, but crucially not quite, balanced. With the introduction of Divyne Correctioun, the Vices - Flatterie, Dissait

6 Lindsay's attack on clerical inadequacy is dealt with more fully in Part III.

and Falset - prudently go to ground resorting respectively to the company of churchmen, merchants and craftsmen, that is to the first and third estates. At the end of the play, Flatterie (traditionally a particularly courtly vice) escapes to make a new home with Spiritualitie, Dissait is hanged proclaiming his allegiance to Merchandis, while Falset's valedictory address aligns him with a motley host of sinners recalling the depiction of Hell found in The Dreme. Temporalitie does not escape entirely free from the barbs of Lindsay's pen. Corruption affects him as it does the other two estates; all enter the stage "gangand backwart" and led by a Vice (in Temporalitie's case it is Public Oppression). However, Temporalitie is swift to acknowledge the charges laid at his door and to seek pardon. Obviously, the theme of the play demands that those particularly associated with the king possess the same sort of moral virtue as Rex Humanitas himself; nevertheless, Lindsay's leniency towards the second estate and towards courtiers (the courtier vices, Placebo, Solace and Wantonness are all lightly pardoned their offences) remains striking. Fear of the consequences of satiric attack seems an unlikely explanation for his reticence. As Ane Satyre makes brutally clear, criticism of the Church was an equally dangerous occupation. The explanation must lie elsewhere and probably has at least two elements to it. It is unlikely that Lindsay simply considered the second estate in less need of correction; more probably he was anxious to win the support rather than the hostility of those with the power to realize his reforming vision. Recent events, not only in Scotland but throughout Europe, had illustrated the importance of harnessing secular authority to the cause of reform (of whatever theological or political hue) and that lesson was not lost. Another explanation may lie in the fact that, satirically speaking, it is difficult to hit a moving target and, in the sixteenth century, men like Lindsay were less than certain

about the social identity of the second estate. In Ane Satyre, he is designated Temporalitie - a distinctly neutral social description. The existing texts, otherwise rich in directorial instruction, say nothing regarding his characterization and it would be fascinating to know whether Lindsay intended him to don any particular distinguishing garment in order to ensure immediate audience recognition. Was he to be portrayed as aristocratic courtier, as learned counsellor or as armed knight? Typical symbols associated with each of the three estates are found on the tattered mantle of Dame Scotia in Wedderburn's Complaynt of Scotland. Here we have livestock and crops, ships and merchandise (the third estate), books and figures (the first) and, to denote the second estate, there are swords and shields, harnesses, weapons and munitions.[7] Interestingly enough, this type of identification is made in the 1540 Epiphany drama, Eure's note of which refers to the "Burges", the "Busschope" and the "Man of Armes", the last "a man armed in harnes with a sword drawen in his hande".[8] (It may be significant that Eure, who at one point accidently refers instead to the man of law, appears to have been similarly confused about the identity of 'Temporalitie'.) Evidently it was no longer second nature to view the lay leaders of society as members of a military aristocracy; traditional assumptions concerning the archetypal noble/gentleman were in a state of flux. Lindsay's work reflects this sense of confusion. His growing disquiet with the depiction of a military aristocracy represents another aspect of his oft-noted unease with the tenets of martial chivalry and, as we shall see, it was his modification of these tenets to fashion an ideology more appropriate for mid-sixteenth century Scotland and more accommodating to men of his

---

7 The Complaynt of Scotland, p.55. (Dame Scotia's eldest son, 'Nobility' enters bearing a harness and halbert.)

8 Hamer, Works, II, p.4.

own status which underlay his understanding of the concept of commonweal.

It was this idea of the commonweal which, along with the traditional estate terminology, underpinned Lindsay's social analysis. The term 'commonweal' first appears in Scotland at the beginning of the sixteenth century - probably being absorbed from English sources.[9] Its emergence marks what one commentator has described as a "subtle but significant change in the terminology of public discourse".[10] Although appearing only once in the works of both Dunbar and Douglas, by the late 1520s the term was readily appropriated as a character in Lindsay's Dreme and it appears frequently in Bellenden's Chronicles.[11] Indeed, humanists such as Bellenden who used it as a translation for *res publica* went a long way towards popularizing the term. This development is paralleled in official sources; its occurrence in the Acts of Parliament, only sporadic before the 1520s, is frequent thereafter and it surfaces in such important legislation as the confirmation of James V's Act of Revocation (1540).[12] A further indication of increasing familiarity with the term is provided by the gradual process of its contraction; whereas initially the standard expression was 'the commonweal of the Realm', the phrase was soon well enough known to permit the use of the word 'commonweal' alone.[13]

---

9 O.E.D. cites fourteenth and fifteenth century examples of the term while D.O.S.T. has nothing earlier than the sixteenth.

10 R. A. Mason, "Kingship and Commonweal: Political Thought and Ideology in Reformation Scotland", Unpublished Ph.D. Thesis, Edinburgh University, (1983) p.67. Dr Mason's work offers an invaluable study of the term's history which usefully highlights the importance of Lindsay's work in its development.

11 Ibid., p.69.

12 A.P.S., II, p.268.

13 Ibid., II, p.289, 298, 306, 314 & 338. The first independent sixteenth century example of 'Commonweal' occurs in Nov. 1526 (p.314 & 316).

Etymologically, the term is connected to such Latin expressions as *bonum commune* and *utilitas publica*, familiar from domestic records and the works of medieval political theorists. Essentially, it refers to a state of universal well-being.[14] Indeed, the phrase 'universal weal' appears at first almost interchangeable with 'commonweal'. Examination of the parliamentary records for the first half of the century shows that while the commonweal could be injured by some very specific actions (for example, the burning of corn, over-fishing and farming mares out to English stud), there was no real attempt at precise definition, a fact which rendered it an extremely useful political concept.[15] Emerging in its shortened form, its value was further enhanced, effectively intensifying its force as an abstract idea and providing the Scots with a term referring not only to the welfare of the realm but in some way to the realm itself. The concepts of king, kingdom and commonweal assumed such interdependence that treason charges came to be couched in such terms - George Douglas was accused of gathering an army against "this realm and comoun weil".[16] Offence against the commonweal was not restricted to cases of treason, it also incurred maximum opprobrium in other contexts. In February 1552, parliament declared in ringing terms that any one found contravening regulations designed to alleviate the current meat shortage, "salbe haldin as a man geuin to his voluptuositie and contempnar of authoritie and not to the commoun weill".[17] Lindsay draws on these connotations in his mock petition, In Contemptatioun of Syde Tallis. When he declares that long gowns trail through the dust, "Expres agane all

---

14 This is the primary meaning given by both O.E.D. and D.O.S.T.

15 A.P.S., II, p.298, 345 & 346.

16 Ibid., II, p.451.

17 A.P.S., II, p.488.

Commoun weillis", the serious parliamentary language ensures the effectiveness of his poetic exaggeration (16).

The early decades of the sixteenth century saw the emergence of the commonweal as a powerful ideological force, an effective shorthand method for expressing the ideals of good government discussed above in relation to virtuous kingship. This can be seen in both those areas traditionally associated with kingship, justice and defence. In some way coming almost to signify the realm itself, the term was readily appropriated to the patriotic cause and, at least by the late 1540s, "the commonweal was being employed in a manner which set off all the emotive resonances which in the middle ages had been triggered by the clarion call of freedom".[18] In support of this argument, we can point to Bellenden's Chronicles and The Complaynt of Scotland both of which use the term in this way, but such examples are easily multiplied.[19] One example we can not cite in this context is that of Lindsay - whose work, ironically enough, did so much to establish the term in popular consciousness. Just as he eschews the idea of king as military commander and knightly hero, so in his discussion of the commonweal, Lindsay ignores the term's undeniably important patriotic connotations and instead uses it as a vehicle to discuss good government. By duplicating so exactly his treatment of kingship on the one hand and commonweal on the other, Lindsay again underlines the symbiotic nature of the relationship both in conception and reality.

This is not to suggest that Lindsay was in some sense un-patriotic. On the contrary, he was profoundly concerned for Scottish peace and prosperity but, at the same time, he simply was not

---

18 R. A. Mason, "Covenant and Commonweal: The Language of Politics in Reformation Scotland", in N. Macdougall, ed., Church, Politics and Society: Scotland 1408-1929 (Edinburgh, 1983) pp.97-126, p.108. See also the author's doctoral thesis referenced above, p.71 *passim*.

19 Mason, "Covenant and Commonweal", p.108.

interested in fostering that strong sense of national identity based upon armed conflict in the cause of political autonomy. That he felt a strong affection for his native land is vividly conveyed by the evocative description of Scotland found in The Dreme, a description which echoes that of a similarly non-nationalistic patriot, John Mair.[20] Like Mair too, Lindsay believed that Scottish peace and prosperity depended upon union between England and Scotland. Lindsay's position was neither as forcefully expressed nor as comprehensively worked out as Mair's, but he certainly concurred with the latter's plea:

> To God...I pray...that one of its [Britain's] kings in a union of marriage may by just title gain both kingdoms for any other way of reaching an assured peace I hardly see.[21]

The Tragedie of the Cardinal expresses Lindsay's deep regret at the failure of proposals for just such a dynastic union (197-98), while The Monarche echoes Mair's prayer:

> I dreid that weir makis none endyng,
> Tyll thay be, boith onder ane kyng.
> (The Monarche, 5410-11)

This is not to suggest that Mair was the source for this idea (Mair's History was published in 1521 and Lindsay's stance can only be dated to the mid-1540s). Unionist aspirations, although not widespread, were not unique in this period. For example, another Scot, James Henrisoun, albeit living and writing in England, was also advocating union as a

---

20 There is no definite evidence that Lindsay was familiar with Mair's work although it seems likely that he knew at least A History of Greater Britain. Although Mair is dealing with Britain as a whole his description bears a striking similarity (but possesses no direct verbal parallels) with Lindsay's. For example, compare Mair (pp.6-7) with The Dreme, 815-833; especially Mair's comment; 'the woods are well stacked with stags, hinds and wild boars' and Lindsay's description of the 'Forrestis full of Da, Ra, Hartis and hyndis'. Lindsay also seems to have adopted Mair's favoured nomenclature, referring to 'the braid Yle of Bertane/...deuydit in famous Regionis two,/ The south part, Ingland, ane full ryche countre/ Scotland, be north, with mony ylis mo' (791 & 793-95).

21 Mair, A History of Greater Britain, p.41.

remedy for social dislocation.[22] Just how enthusiastically Lindsay responded to the unionist call is difficult to gauge as the two examples cited above represent his only explicit statements on the subject. But Dr William Bullein's intriguing Dialogue against the Feuer Pestilence, written less than ten years after Lindsay's death, suggests a more substantial unionist reputation.[23] At the beginning of his Dialogue, Bullein describes a vision of various poets - Gower, Skelton, Chaucer, Lydgate, Barclay and Lindsay - each of whom delivers a characteristic speech (for example, Skelton pokes fun at Wolsey, Lydgate describes the slippery fortunes of princes). Lindsay then proclaims British unity in opposition to the curse of Rome and the power of France:

> *Habitare fratres in unum*
> Is a blesfull thyng,
> One God, one faith, one baptism pure,
> One lawe, one lande, and one kyng.

Obviously, this stirring speech has a polemical purpose and it is equally obvious that Lindsay could have been posthumously co-opted to the unionist cause in the same way that he was marshalled into the Protestant ranks - his credentials dubious on both counts. Nevertheless, if we believe that there is no smoke without fire, it could well be that Lindsay's enthusiasm for union between England and Scotland was more familiar to his contemporaries than the evidence of his surviving works allows. Whatever the truth of the matter, it is clear that, for Lindsay, the question of national identity was not

---

22 Henrisoun, "Ane Exhortacion to the Scottes to conforme themselfes to the honorable, Expedient, & godly Union betweene the two Realmes of Englande & Scotland", (London, 1547) printed in James H. Murray, ed., The Complaynt of Scotland, (E.E.T.S., 1872) pp.207-36. See esp. pp.208-09, for a description of Scotland ravaged by war. A second tract composed by Henrisoun in 1548, known as "The Godly and Golden Book", makes a similar point, although as this was never published it is unlikely that Lindsay knew it (PRO SP 50/4, fols,128-137, largely reproduced in C.S.P. Scot., I, pp.140-45).

23 Bullein, A Dialogue against the Feuer Pestilence, pp.17-18.

irrevocably bound up with the Stewart dynasty and the ideal of political independence. The pursuit of peace in the name of the commonweal was infinitely more important than rallying the nation to its armed defence.

What then did Lindsay mean by this new term? An answer to this question is suggested by looking more closely at the ways in which it is employed in his poetry. Discussing the commonweal, Lindsay relies heavily upon a number of abstract ideas previously encountered in his treatment of ideal kingship, making frequent use of such fundamental and wholly traditional terms as peace, justice, policy and prosperity, all of which were closely interrelated both with the commonweal and with each other. Indeed, in The Dreme, the family relationship is made explicit when John refers to his sister, Justice (948-49). In this poem, Dame Rememberance summons all these various concepts and illustrates their interdependence. The Scots are poor, she explains, as there is no 'ryches' without 'polycie'. Policy in turn will not flourish where there is no justice and justice depends upon peace.

> Wantyng of Iustice, polycie and peace,
> Ar cause of thir vnhappynes, allace,
> (860-61)

In terms of the maintenance of the commonweal, therefore, peace represents the bottom line. This, of course, lies at the heart of Lindsay's anti-martial bias and, later, his probable unionist sympathies. In The Monarche, Lindsay claims that war is an affront to "Justice and Equitie", something which "euere polesye doun thrawis", going on to illustrate the point with a graphic depiction of the horrors inflicted upon each section of the community (1898 & 1893). This attitude was already evident in the late 1520s, but that it was greatly strengthened by his own experiences is suggested by The Tragedy of the Cardinal in which the same point is made with reference to the specific circumstances of the Rough Wooing:

> Had we with Ingland kepit our contrackis,
> Our nobyll men had leuit in peace and rest,
> Our merchandis had nocht lost so mony packis,
> Our commoun peple had nocht bene opprest;
> (197-200)

Again Lindsay's treatment of war and the social and economic dislocation brought in its wake recalls Mair's History of Greater Britain.[24] Of course, there was nothing new in this realization, but calls for it to be considered as a factor in the formulation of policy appear to have been growing. When we look at Ireland's Meroure of Wssydome, for example, we find no less than twelve "gret proffitis [and] vtiliteis of peace" listed. However, less than half of these relate, even vaguely, to matters of state-craft or policy.[25] The way of peace is the way of Christ, it honours God and defies the Devil, Christian worship requires peace - these are more typical of Ireland's arguments. In an article on war and commonwealth in mid-Tudor England, Ben Lowe has recently argued that it was during this period that the discussion of peace (influenced both by English experiences in France and by Christian humanism) became increasingly linked with the idea of the commonweal.[26] While his argument at times appears over-simplified, the identification of this general trend is valid. Certainly, it seems as if something similar was occurring north of the border. Linking peace so firmly with commonweal was particularly important for thinkers such as Mair and Lindsay as it enabled them to adopt a position that was at once both pacifist and patriotic.

This refusal to see war as in any way glorious is also characteristic of another important strand of 'war-thinking' in

---

24 Mair, A History of Greater Britain, p.218.

25 Ireland, Meroure of Wyssdome, Book VII, p.125. (This is taken from Jean Gerson's sermon, *Vivat Rex*.)

26 Ben Lowe, "War and the Commonwealth in Mid-Tudor England", Sixteenth Century Journal, XXI, (1990) pp.171-91.

sixteenth century Scotland. This saw in war God's punishment of a wicked people. Lindsay himself, at the end of his career, interpreted war in this way (The Monarche, 46-54 & 415-25), but perhaps the most forceful example of this type of thinking is found in The Complaynt of Scotland. At heart, The Complaynt is a plea for peace - the restitution of a battered Dame Scotia who cries out for national unity, social harmony and, above all, for moral regeneration. However, The Complaynt is a problematic text in that it faces but does not fully resolve a dilemma similar to that found in Boece's History - for like the ethical regeneration demanded by Boece, the moral reform demanded by Dame Scotia depends upon a vigorous call to arms:

> Thai that vil not expose there bodies and gudis, to perreland dangeir, for the iust deffens of there honour, lyuis, friendis ande gudis: bot rather vil thole them selfis, their public veil, & ther natiue cuntre to perreis al to gydder, thai ar mair brutal nor brutal beystis.[27]

Lindsay, however, avoids this dilemma by relying solely, if more unrealistically, upon the call for spiritual and moral rehabilitation:

> ...quhen that the peple doith repent,
> Than god sall slak his bow, quhilk yit is bent
> (The Monarche, 70-71)

Again we can see how this approach also accommodated patriotism, in this case suggesting that reform and subsequent divine reward would enable Scotland to operate independently of France:

> Pray thame that thay putt nocht thare esperance
> In mortall Men onelye, thame tyll aduance,
> Bot principallye in God omnipotent.
> Than neid thai not to charge the realm of France
> With Gounnis, Gallayis, nor vther Ordinance.
> (91-95)

Peace, the prerequisite for a prosperous community, was not perceived simply in terms of the maintenance of amicable relations with foreign powers, it was also about securing domestic tranquillity. There were two aspects to this: the avoidance of civil strife and the

---

27 Wedderburn, The Complaynt of Scotland, p.57.

maintenance of law and order. Lindsay makes passing condemnatory reference to the former (as experienced in Scotland in the 1520s - The Dreme, 991-93), but it is the latter which more fully engages his attention. At this point, the relationship between peace and justice is particularly important. As discussed above, the idea of justice in its broadest sense was central to political theorizing - essentially the discussion of good kingship - during this period. As justice lay at the heart of good kingship, so too it occupied a central position with regard to the idea of commonweal. Both concepts over-rode the vested interests of any one social group and were therefore important unifying forces, cementing together the stratified society of sixteenth century Scotland. Judicial impartiality was consequently a crucial aspect of good government. "Do equale Iustice to boith gret and small," Lindsay exhorts James V (The Dreme, 1073), and making clear the importance which this very traditional precept had for the developing ideology of the commonweal, he reports contemporary opinion of Cardinal Wolsey with the words:

> The commoun weill; sum sayis, he did auance
> Be equale Iustice, boith to gret and small;
> (The Testament of the Papyngo, 572-73)

The final component of Dame Rememberance's commonweal model was 'policy', a quality which, according to the dying Papyngo, lodged with justice in Edinburgh (630). The word 'policy' had a number of different meanings. At its most straightforward level it simply denoted a plan. More specifically, it could mean a plan for the improvement or development of buildings, gardens, or woods and, in fact, it was frequently taken to refer to these features themselves.[28] However, its primary meaning related to the smooth functioning of government as is suggested by the phrase "polesye civill", and it

28 For examples of the first and third sense of the word: The Monarche, 1804 & 1927.

possessed many of the wider connotations associated with justice, often being used in conjunction with it.[29] For example, in June 1535, the Lords of the Articles were instructed "to devise and mak sic actes, statutis and constitutionis for gude rule, justice and police to be had within the realme".[30] Policy was also closely linked to the idea of prosperity, suggesting a crude yet discernible approach to economic thinking. Bellenden relates how Donald V, in an attempt to increase national prosperity, fostered industry and craftsmanship within the country. The King, he observed, "gaif his besynes mair to polesey and iustice than ony chevelry".[31] Lindsay relied upon the same connotations of the term in The Dreme when he had Dame Rememberance consider how thieves should be punished and forced to compensate those whom they had oppressed, "That ryches mycht by Policey incres"[?] (915). [32] This association with economic well being explains the ready use of common or universal weal in burgh government. For example, a statute of June 1535 dealing with burghs "waistit and distroyit in there gudis and polecy", attacked non-native officials concerned only "for thare awin particular wele" and ordered annual audits to ensure expenditure was for the commonweal of the burgh.[33] Such vocabulary effectively demonstrates that Lindsay intended his work to represent a serious comment upon government - the order to convene parliament in 1528, "furth puttyng of the kingis auctoritie and execution of justice

29 Bellenden, Chronicles of Scotland, II, p.68.

30 A.P.S., II, p.342. The association is also found in Lindsay: The Dreme, 871 & The Testament of the Papyngo, 630.

31 Bellenden, Chronicles of Scotland, II, p.82. (The distinction drawn between the business of policy and that of chivalry is particularly suggestive.)

32 This alternative, more satisfactory reading is based upon the 1558 edition of the text, Hamer, Works, III, p.41. (The 1559 text given in Vol.I reads, 'That ryches might be, and Policey incres'.)

33 A.P.S., II, p.349. See also: p.244, 245 & 252.

civile and criminalie throw the realme and for the ordering of pese and polisy in to the samin", sounds remarkably like the exhortations of Dame Rememberance.[34] These concepts remained powerfully ingrained in the nation's political consciousness and Sir Richard Maitland anticipated the adult rule of Mary Stewart in terms identical to those used by Lindsay in respect of her father. Thus he looked forward to the time, "Quahairin richt sone thair sall be hard and sein/ Grit Ioy, Iustice, gude peax and policie".[35]

It would, however, be wrong to consider the commonweal as in some sense a dry, technical term. The concept was as much psychological as political.[36] The ideal of the commonweal conveyed very real feelings, feelings of organic unity, physical dynamism (and, in other contexts, of a very emotive patriotism). The dramatization of John, while clearly inspired by the traditions of allegorical drama, forcefully evokes this aspect of the commonweal. It should perhaps be stressed that the character of John the Commonweal, despite his often hungry and ragged appearance, was not a representation of the poor or of the rural poor in particular. When Lindsay required such a figure he introduced the Pauper (Ane Satyre) or the traditional 'John Upland'.[37] Hamer, and more recently Fulton, are surely wrong to view these as interchangeable with John the Commonweal.[38] On the contrary, John represents the

---

34 Quoted: Cairns, "Sir David Lindsay's *Dreme*", p.117.

35 Off the Quenis Arryvale in Scotland, 13-14 in Maitland Folio Manuscript, pp.32-34.

36 For a discussion of this point (in connection with the idea of 'common profit') see: Russell A. Peck, Kingship and Common Profit in Gower's *Confessio Amantis* (Carbondale & Edwardsville, S. Illinois, 1978) p.1.

37 The Complaynt, 407 and The Testament of the Papyngo, 541. The word 'upland' signifies a rural environment and in the above examples John Upland is associated with appropriately rustic concerns (with his cow and mare respectively).

38 Hamer, Works, III, p.61 and R. W. M. Fulton, "Social Criticism in Scottish Literature, 1480-1560", Unpublished Ph.D Thesis, Edinburgh

universal and public good of the entire community and not the interests of any individual element within society. He is the dramatic embodiment of a principle not a party, an ideal and not an individual.

What may be termed the emerging ideology of the commonweal offered sixteenth century Scots a powerful, yet succinct, articulation of the traditional ideals of good government and, as such, it lay alongside virtuous kingship at the heart of Lindsay's political vision. Clearly, this sense of familiarity was one of the main reasons why the commonweal was so readily incorporated into Scottish political discourse. It naturally assumed the medieval mantle of liberty and freedom, it easily slotted into the language of municipal government and many of the ideas traditionally found in kingship/chivalric literature found comfortable expression in its terminology. In addition to the examples of justice, policy, prosperity and peace, appropriated as the new 'cardinal virtues of the commonweal', we should also consider common and singular profit, which coupling had been long evoked to suggest the ideal society bound in mutual concern. An oft-used theme of Lindsay's, it informs all his commonweal poetry.[39] The victory of self-interest is suggested as the root cause of the failures of the Regency administrations of the 1520s, John the Commonweal being abused and finally banished by "singulare proffect" (The Dreme, 969-73). Echoing this earlier work, Lindsay returns to singular profit in Ane Satyre, relying on it to explain the miseries experienced by the 1552 John:

> With singular profeit he hes bene sa supprysit,
> That he is baith cauld, naikit and disgysit.
> (3767-68)

University, (1972) p.146, 152 & 155.

39 The Dreme, 909-10, The Complaynt, 129-30 and The Testament of the Papyngo, 381-83.

Further reference is made to the idea when one of the arguments used by the lay estates to override Spiritualitie hinges upon this point. When the latter objects to the removal of temporal business from the ecclesiastical courts, describing at as a measure "againis our profeit singulair", Temporalitie responds, "Your profeit is against the Common-weil" and goes on to demand the promulgation of the act (3090-92).

The basic distinction between singular and common profit, by no means novel, was deeply embedded in medieval thought. Indeed it lay at the heart of political theory, underpinning the Aristotelian definition of a tyrant (one who rules for his own ends rather than for the good of the people). It also received frequent expression in a chivalric context. It occurs for example in Hay's works, particularly The Buke of Knytchede, which it should be noted displays a much greater concern for the issue than its French source.[40] This stress upon responsibility to the community lay at the heart of the mythical foundations of knighthood:

> The office is foundit ay on gude and proffitable werkis that ar spedefull to the commoun proffit.[41]

In the same type of chivalric context, we also find the appearance of the actual phrase commonweal:

> To ane knycht appertenys that he be lover of the comyn weil. For by the comynalte of the peple wes the cheualry fundin and stablissed. And the comyn wele is grettar & mair necessary than propir gud and speciale.[42]

This passage appears in the Loutfut Manuscript, a transcript of Caxton's translation of The Ordre of Chyvalry made in 1494 by Adam Loutfut, Kintyre Pursuivant, at the direction of William Cumming of

---

40 Mapstone, "The Advice to Princes Tradition", p.89.

41 Hay, The Buke of Knychthede, p.28.

42 From Adam Loutfut's transcript of 'The Ordre of Chyvalry' printed in A. T. P. Bayles, ed., The Book of the Ordre of Chyvalry Translated and Printed by William Caxton (E.E.T.S., 1926) p.113.

Iverallochy, Marchmont Herald and later Lyon King of Arms. A copy was subsequently made c.1530 by John Scrymgeour and another in 1591 by Lindsay's brother, also Lyon King. Both versions use this commonweal terminology.[43] That the text was well known to Lyon Kings previous and subsequent to Lindsay suggests that he too was acquainted with it and, if this is so, then it probably contributed to the development of his commonweal thinking. Interestingly, in the corresponding passage of Hay's Manuscript, the latter refers to a knight's obligation "tobe amorous of the commoun prouffit and of the commouns".[44] This cumbersome phraseology is typical of Hay and it illustrates that, while the concepts fundamental to the commonweal ideal were well established in fifteenth century Scotland, the language used to articulate it had yet to emerge. The work of David Lindsay - drawing indirectly on English chivalric sources - clearly contributed to the process by which it did so.

Lindsay, uncomfortable about many aspects of the chivalric ideology, was profoundly appreciative of the stress it laid upon common profit. He therefore sought to isolate and to elevate this particular tenet of the knightly code, thereby providing a revised pattern for 'noble' achievement and one more appropriate for men of his own social background. We can perhaps see in Lindsay what may be termed the attempted 'dechivalrization' of the knightly ideal; the elements of martial prowess, courtly love and elaborate ceremonial being stripped away to leave the core concepts of justice and public service relocated

---

43 ADV. MS 31.5.2. fol.95^{v} ('To ane knycht appertenis that he be lover of the comon weil for be the commonalte of pepill was the cheualrie fundin & stablished and the comon weil is gritar & mair necessary than propir gude & special') & ADV. MS 31.3.20. fol.78^{v} ('To ane knight appertenis that he be lover of the comoun weill for be the commumitie? of peple was chevalrie fundin and established. And the commoun weill is grittar & mair necessary than propir gude and speciall').

44 Hay, The Buke of the Order of Knychthede, p.68.

in the commonweal. Sydney Anglo has recently commented that "the transmutation of knight into courtier or gentleman is one of the central problems for the student of chivalry in the Renaissance".[45] One answer frequently cited to explain this transition is the influence of civic humanism and indeed we can see this type of thinking in such works as Thomas Starkey's Dialogue between Pole and Lupset which as well as putting forward Ciceronian ideals of civic responsibility for the commonweal also draws on the traditional Aristotelian idea of society "lyvyng togydder in cyvyle lyfe accordyng to the excellent dygnyte of the nature of man every parte of thys body agreying to other".[46] However, it is equally clear that the impulse for change also lay within traditional chivalric thinking and, given Lindsay's professional position and the *mentalité* of the Scottish Court, this was probably the most important influence on his political development. The cult of chivalry had always represented a somewhat uneasy alliance between an aggressive individuality on the one hand and a sense of social responsibility on the other: the lone knight errant in search of adventure was hardly the best guardian of public order. It is perhaps significant that in Scotland individual achievement and bravery were often downplayed in favour of Christian obligation towards the community.[47] Lindsay built on this tradition and, re-orientating it towards the idea of service in the commonweal, his work suggests a plausible answer to Anglo's conundrum. Nowhere is this process of re-orientation more clearly seen than in The Historie of Squyer Meldrum where the knight errant of the title is gradually transformed into a

---

45 Sydney Anglo, ed., Chivalry in the Renaissance (Woodbridge, 1990) p.xi.

46 T. E. Mayer, ed., Thomas Starkey, A Dialogue between Pole and Lupset (Camden Series, 1989) p.40. See also: p.4 & 35-39.

47 Mapstone, "The Advice to Princes Tradition", pp.56-60.

country gentleman. Superficially, the poem appears to fall squarely within the Romantic tradition. Like any popular chivalric biography, the work is based upon allegedly real episodes but incorporates practically every traditional motif available to Lindsay: the rescue of a maiden, victory against all odds - both the one against many scenario and the 'David-and-Goliath' joust - the prophetic dream, the sleepless lover, the dawn walk, the feminine lament over the fallen hero; all demonstrate Lindsay's complete familiarity with the genre. It is, however, a genre which, as one commentator has observed, "Lindsay could no longer take quite seriously".[48] What we must understand is that, while on one level Squyer Meldrum represents a sincere tribute to the memory of an old friend, admiration for the Squire was blended with an equally profound unease about what he stood for. Or at least for certain aspects of this.

The chivalric biography, often penned by heralds, was an important feature of the cult of knightly heroism. In many ways it represented an extension of the cult of the Nine Worthies with the established canon being enlarged to accommodate latterday heroes. Scots, for example, often cited Robert Bruce in this context.[49] Meldrum, however, was an incongruous figure to find in such renowned company for, unlike those authors who stressed the legendary nature of their subjects' chivalry, Meldrum's biographer was at pains to divorce Romance and reality. Although dutifully recording the arms of the Nine Worthies in his Armorial Manuscript, by the time he wrote Squyer Meldrum, Lindsay

48 Felicity Riddy, "Squyer Meldrum and the Romance of Chivalry", Yearbook of English Studies, 4, (1974) pp.26-36, p.26. Much of what follows owes a great deal to Riddy's very suggestive interpretation. See also Janet Smith's contention that the poem is 'almost entirely a burlesque of the old romantic manner', (The French Background of Middle Scots Literature (Edinburgh & London, 2nd edn., 1964) pp.133-35).

49 Henry Hargreaves, "The Crathes Ceiling Inscriptions", Brycht Lanternis, pp.373-386, pp.380-81.

appears to have been acutely uncomfortable with the whole cult. For example, in The Monarche, while the Old Testament Worthies are favourably viewed (5656-60) and Julius Caesar accorded a certain respect (3686), Alexander the Great (a particularly popular hero of medieval literature) is described in damning terms:

> Quhose crueltie for to rehers,
> And saikles blude quhilk he did sched,
> War rycht abhominabyll to be red.
> (3669-71)

Lindsay also rejects an important aspect of Arthurian Romance and, hence by implication, the 'worthiness' of Arthur himself when the relationship between Lancelot and Guinevere, so often held up as the epitome of the Courtly Love ideal, is denounced as no more than a sordid, adulterous liaison (Squyer Meldrum, 54).[50] Lindsay was not alone in his criticisms. Mair for one declared himself amazed that Caesar, a tyrant who overthrew an aristocratic republic, and Alexander the Great, a man consumed with the lust for power, should be considered 'worthy'.[51] Nevertheless, given Lindsay's heraldic background, his stance was striking and, if familiar to his audience, it can not have failed to have influenced the reading of his work. Certainly, it dissuades us from taking this account of knightly derring-do at face value.

The main section of Squyer Meldrum falls into two halves each dealing with those aspects of chivalry with which Lindsay was least at ease: that is, with military adventure and courtly love. In addition, the final "Testament" sets the elaborate ceremonial of the knightly burial with its references to the pagan gods against the ideals of Christian simplicity and, in this way, also questions another

---

50 This recalls the subversion of the courtly love ideal found in The Answer to the Kingis Flyting, (Chapter Five).

51 Mair, A History of Greater Britain, pp.83-84.

traditional aspect of the cult. Felicity Riddy's reading of the poem suggests the specific ways in which the sentiments traditionally associated with Romance literature are challenged by Lindsay's earthy realism. Numerous examples could be cited here, but one, not noted by Riddy, must suffice. When Meldrum pledges himself to his Lady's cause with the cry, "That worthie Lancelot du laik/ Did neuer mair, for his Ladies saik," our recollection of Lindsay's earlier condemnation of this relationship sours the Romantic atmosphere (1079-80). By emphasizing the unbridgable gap between real life and literature, Lindsay forcefully suggests that the knightly ideals of love and adventure have no viable place within the context of a real society, that society being Renaissance Scotland. The dismal end to Meldrum's affair with the Lady of Gleneagles underscores this point. Prosaically enough, his erstwhile love is married off elsewhere and, although Meldrum's assailant eventually receives his just desserts, his murder is yet another instance of mindless violence and is unconnected with avenging the Squire-hero. His adherence to true life reveals Lindsay's determination to expose the irrelevance of chivalric idealism. Such episodes cleverly ensure that we are struck, not by the elaborate accounts of romance and military adventure, but rather by the absence of any sense of justice or protection - in Lindsay's eyes, the two most important aspects of the chivalric code. It is no accident, therefore, that having described Meldrum's life on the battlefield and in the bower in service of commander and of Lady respectively, he turns finally to Meldrum's activities in the local community where he passed the remainder of his life serving the local landholder and the surrounding population. The three-fold division of the poem is by no means evenly balanced, for by far the greater part deals with a relatively short period in Meldrum's life. And yet, even this reinforces the 'unreal' nature of a life dedicated to the chivalric

ideal. Moreover, the undramatic picture of social responsibility painted by Lindsay provides a potent corrective to the earlier - illusory and irrelevant - tales of knight errantry. The lone adventurer who squirms out of entanglement with the maid of Carrickfergus is gradually brought to a position in which he finds himself bound by responsibility on all sides. Not only is he Lord Lindsay's most valued household official, he also acts as Sheriff Depute:[52]

> He was ane richt Courticiane,
> And in the Law ane Practicare;
> (1534-35)

In addition, he practices medicine - free of charge - for the benefit of the community's poor:

> To euerie man [he was] an equall Iudge,
> And of the pure he wes refuge,
> And with Iustice did thame support
> And curit thair sairis with gret comfort;
> (1539-42)

Significantly, the stress is upon those traditional tenets of the knightly code (justice and protection of the poor) which were so important in Lindsay's commonweal thinking. In The Historie of Squyer Meldrum, Lindsay is suggesting a new role for men such as his old friend, a new paradigm for the aspirations of the lesser nobility. Significantly also, this poem was written at a time when Lindsay was not at Court. Therefore, his intended audience probably comprised his own Fife-based neighbours, men who would have known Meldrum themselves, men whom Lindsay might consider appreciative of this new pattern of commonweal achievement. Interestingly, early editions of Lindsay's work (although not specifically of Squyer Meldrum) clearly recognize his concern with the art of government and its implications for men

---

52 W. C. Dickinson, ed., The Sheriff Court Book of Fife 1515-1522, (S.H.S., 1928) p.206, 226, 234, 250, 255, 258-59, 260-61, 265-66, 269-70. For the importance and dignity of the office: pp.liv-lix.

such as himself. A sixteenth century English publisher, noting Plato's observation that men are born not to serve themselves but "the common welth and countrey", considered his edition for the edification of "al estates but chiefly for Gentlemen, and such as ar in authoritie" (London, 1566, reprinted, 1575 & 1581).[53]

This brings us neatly to the question of audience. Who exactly were these later works written for? The death of James V and Lindsay's withdrawal to his estates heralded a critical change in the focus of his work. Unsurprisingly, his poetry was no longer so stoutly anchored to the Court. Poems such as The Tragedie of the Cardinal and Squyer Meldrum are explicitly located in the Fife locality. The audience to which Lindsay looked became more diverse and his counsel more all-encompassing. It would, however, be wrong to insist on too rigid a demarcation between court and community, 'high' and 'low' culture, early works and late.[54] Indeed, Lindsay's very first extant work, The Dreme, displays exactly the concern for the entire country which is so characteristic of his later writing. It would probably also be a mistake to view court poetry as the preserve of that small, élite audience for whom it was originally composed. After all, many courtiers, be they great lords or simple travelling entertainers, had an existence outwith the confines of the court and Hughes and Ramson usefully remind us of that "lost" provincial culture, "modelled on, but removed from the court".[55] Significantly, William Stewart declares

---

53 A Dialogue betweene Experience and a Courtier of the miserable estate of the worlde, first compiled in the Schottishe tongue, by Sir David Lyndesay, knight,...now newly corrected, and made perfit Englishe, (London, 1566). Reprinted, Hamer, Works, III, p.39.

54 For the problems with such terms, see Roger Chartier, trans. Lydia G. Cochrane, The Cultural Uses of Print in Early Modern France (Princeton, 1987) pp.3-5, p.152.

55 Hughes and Ramson, Poetry of the Stewart Court, p.18. (They consider Squyer Meldrum a product of this culture.)

that Boece's History, a work of extreme importance in the context of court culture, will, once translated, be widely known:

Out throw the realm the rumor wald [be rung][56]

This only brings us back to some of the most problematic yet important questions arising from the study of politics and literature during this period. What sort of an audience could an author expect for his work? Who might have read it? Who might have heard it? Such questions can be approached from two different angles. Firstly, we can analyse the texts themselves and, secondly, we can examine the more practical questions of literacy and book production.

The evidence of texts, of prefaces and titles, has to be handled with caution but, carefully used, it can yield results. This is particularly true with regard to Lindsay who addresses the vexed question of audience on several occasions. Indeed, while still at Court, Lindsay was experimenting with various techniques, what have been termed various 'poetic voices', to address the King and the "Lordis, that standis by" (The Complaynt, 109).[57] In view of the later development of his work, it is particularly interesting to consider his exploration of the *vox populi vox Dei* idea.[58] This long-established notion of the poor as in someway nearer to God (inspired both by the example of Christ's own poverty and His treatment of society's outcasts), exercised a powerful appeal on the popular and literary imagination throughout the Middle Ages and we find several appearances of it in Lindsay's works.[59] The Dreme's John the Commonweal clearly

56 Stewart, "Prologue", Metrical Translation, 116.

57 Janet H. Williams, "'Thus Euery Man Said for Hymself': The Voices of Sir David Lyndsay's Poems", Brycht Lanternis, pp.258-72.

58 For an introductory study of the idea, see: George Boas, Vox Populi: Essays in the History of an Idea (Boston, 1969).

59 John Peter, Complaint and Satire in Early English Literature (Oxford, 1956) p.54.

possesses strong affinities with the tradition, and although the implications of his plight are not restricted to any single section of the community, his blunt speech echoes the language of the commons. The Testament of the Papyngo too provides an interesting example of how Lindsay exploits the conventions of the *vox populi* tradition. The poem opens with Lindsay disowning his usual courtly audience:

> Quharefor, because myne mater bene so rude
> Off sentence, and of Rethorike denude,
> To rurall folke myne dyting bene directit,
> Far lemit frome the sicht of men of gude.
> For cunnyng men, I knaw, wyll soune conclude
> It dowe no thyng bot for to be deictit:
> And, quhen I hair myne mater bene detractit,
> Than sall I sweir, I maid it bot in mowis,
> To landwart lassis quhilkis kepith kye & yowis.
> (64-72)

This is, of course, a poetic commonplace designed to elicit a rueful smile from the audience and to prepare them for some harsh home truths. Nevertheless, it suggests some interesting points which merit further consideration. Lindsay's description of his "barbour rusticall indyte" is belied both by the style and content of the poem (239). The opening section (concluded by the above passage) possesses a lightly comic tone but its overall mood is more seriously-minded; a dignified roll-call of Scotland's great poets is delivered in elevated language and the introduction to the Parrot's tale continues in this vein. The opening sententia, "Quho clymmis to hycht, perforce his feit mon faill" immediately proclaims this a 'fall-of-princes' type tragedy and although the depiction of the Parrot serves to amuse it does not seriously dilute the gravity of Lindsay's moral message (73). In fact, it is the Parrot, by virtue of her heraldic association with eloquence, who enunciates this message. For those less familiar with bestiary lore, Lindsay makes the point explicit by having the Papyngo bequeath her "Eloquence and toung Rethoricall" to the Goose, again subverting his earlier deprecation of his crude work (1105). The Parrot is

clearly a courtier and her fall should be of concern to her colleagues. Indeed, letting slip the pretence that this is for 'rural folk', she addresses the Court directly. Her death bed epistles are for the King and her brother courtiers - the earlier dedication, made in the expectation of courtly disregard, simply highlights the arrogance and pride of which courtiers stand accused. The traditional association between poverty and moral purity is also recalled in the second half of the poem during the Papyngo's encounter with the rapacious avian clerics. Here, the Papyngo, her moral consciousness heightened by imminent death, is credited with knowledge of "the vulgare pepyllis Iudgement" and is invited to explain why the clergy are held in such low esteem (765). The *vox populi* tradition imparts added authority to her words, allowing Lindsay to launch a vitriolic attack on the worldliness of the Church while at the same time distancing himself from the debate. And yet, this rapidly breaks down. The Parrot's allegorical denunciation of corruption engendered by sensuous and material lusts may convey the gist of the 'vulgare pepyllis Iudgement' but it is palpably not, as she claims, what "The commoun peple sayith" (770). Skilfully, Lindsay has conflated the voices of poet, parrot and people to a point where it becomes impossible to separate them. The concluding stanzas of the poem reiterate Lindsay's mock-disbelief that "Rethorike so rude" can find audience at Court (1179). It is not the poem, however, but the message which is blunt. Moreover, it is a message which owes more to Lindsay's own sympathy with Erasmian calls for ecclesiastical reform than to the opinions of the 'vulgar people'.[60]

While The Testament of the Papyngo illustrates Lindsay's use of the *vox populi* tradition to persuade the ruling classes, in his later

---

60 See Chapter Seven.

works, notably Ane Satyre and The Monarche, his intended audience is not so obvious. Clearly, presenting his ideas in the form of a drama for public performance was a bid to attract a much more socially diverse audience. The play contains many references to local figures ranging from the Earl of Rothes to the unidentified Willie Cadyeoch and his wife, probably introduced by Lindsay in the expectation of the added piquancy deriving from their actual presence in the audience.[61] As we have already seen, regrettably little is known about the staging of the 1552 performance of Ane Satyre. However, the play itself illustrates Lindsay's close ties with the Cupar community, many of whom must have been involved in its production. This community in all its aspects is forcefully brought into the action of the play by a variety of dramatic means including the setting, topical references, and direct address.[62] This aspect of the dramatist's craft is of particular significance in Lindsay's treatment of the Pauper. In direct contrast to the traditional allegory which has gone before, here the divide between 'fact' and 'fiction' is less clear cut and the Pauper simply appears to wander into the play "out of the feild" having lost his way to the neighbouring town of St Andrews (1931). The fact that he is 'a poor man of Tranent' which, as Lindsay was well aware, had but recently suffered English military action, further confuses the distinction between 'real' person and dramatic invention. This is reinforced when the Pauper crudely dismisses the play as irrelevant to his situation and personal needs:

---

61 Hamer provides a full list of all such references together with the results of his (largely fruitless) attempts to identify the characters in question (Works, IV, pp.144-48).

62 Claude Graf, "Audience Involvement in Lindsay's Satyre of the Thrie Estatis", Dietrich Straus & Horst W. Drescher, ed., Scottish Studies: Scottish Language and Literature, Medieval and Renaissance (Frankfurt, Berne, New York, 1986) pp.423-435, p.427.

> I wil not gif for al your play worth an sowis fart,
> For thair is richt lytill play at my hungrie hart.
> (1956-57)

Gradually, however, he joins the other *dramatis personae*. The voice of the poor, "the greit murmell" as it is described, has elbowed its way onto the stage and demanded its say (2538). Significantly, after the formal promulgation of the Acts of Parliament, the first to respond is the Pauper who thanks the King for restoring the commonweal to health but adds a warning which refers back to the first section of the play and, like Folly's sermon, reminds the audience of the nearness of disorder:

> It had ben als gude ye had sleipit
> As to mak acts and be nocht keipit.
> (3960-61)

Initially at least, the Pauper's complaints are presented to the Estates by John the Commonweal.[63] John is made to enter the play at the point where Diligence calls upon all those with grievances to step forward. Given Lindsay's subtle distortion of the boundary between fact and fantasy, we can easily imagine the frisson of alarm felt by the audience as one of their number boldly stepped forward clamouring to be heard.[64] Like the Pauper, John quickly becomes an integral character of the play and yet there is a decidedly apprehensive note in Merchandis's request that he remain at the bar letting none but himself come near (2543-44). Fear of "that many headed monster, an unbridled populace" was of course the other side of the *vox populi* coin.[65] The idyllic notion of the poor as Christ's special flock, living in some way closer to him, existed uneasily in a cultural and political climate

---

63 John relates how 'Thir pure commouns daylie as ye may se,/ Declynis doun til extreme povertie' (2567-68). However, despite this socially reassuring start, the Pauper soon joins in the attack.

64 For a similar point with regard to the intervention of the Pauper, see: Lyall, Ane Satyre, p.xxix.

65 Mair, A History of Greater Britain, p.302.

fearful of social disorder.[66] In many ways, this was why the voice of the poor was such a powerful weapon in any debate. Ane Satyre, like Lindsay's earlier work, skilfully uses it to exert pressure upon those in authority. However, the play is somewhat different for, although the reforming message is directed to the political community, the 'pure commouns' were given the opportunity to view their own representative's participation in this process.

A similar sort of ambiguity is apparent in Lindsay's final work, The Monarche. Again the question as to who constituted his intended audience was deliberately confused by Lindsay. The 'Epistil to the Redar' clearly directs the poem to the Governor, his brother Archbishop Hamilton, and "To the faithfull Prudent Pastouris Spirituall,/ To Nobyll Erlis, and Lordis Temporall" (37-38). This appeal to the politically powerful was imperative if Lindsay's message were to have any constructive repercussions. His experiences at Court in the 1530s had taught him how important it was to "Maik thaim requeist, quhilk hes the Gouernance,/ The Sinceir word of God for tyll Auance" (73-74). And yet, the poem's appeal operates on more than this one level. At another point, Lindsay asserts:

> Quharefore to Colyearis, Cairtis, & to Cukis
> To Iok and Thome, my Rhyme sall be diractit.
> (549-50)

Lindsay's message of reform in the face of impending apocalypse - conditioned by an almost prophetic impulse and inspired by the mission of George Wishart - was relevant to all sections of society. "Brether", he declares as if preaching to all humanity, "I counsall yow, repent" (2513).

---

66 For an example of the former approach to the Poor in Lindsay's work, see: The Monarche, 5953-55, which reminds the audience of Christ's judgment that whoever succours the poor and needy succours Christ himself.

One of the ways Lindsay attempts to claim the attention of the humbler elements of the community is to place himself firmly upon their side. He refers to "ws lawid peple", "ws peple of the law estait" and "ws, thy pure lawid commoun populair" (645, 654 & 4965). And yet, as in The Testament of the Papyngo, the authorial voice continues to confuse. Lindsay is clearly not of this class; the scholarly content of The Monarche would proclaim this as fact even if nothing else were known of his background. However, unlike his earlier work, this represents a much more sincere claim to be writing for the people in the sense that his work was intended to inform and educate, not only those at Court, but a much wider audience within the community as a whole. Lindsay complains:

> Quhowbeit that diuers deuote cunnyng Clerkis
> In Latyne toung hes wryttin syndrie bukis
> Our vnlernit knawis lytill of thare werkis,
> More than thay do the rauyyng of the Rukis.
> (545-48)

This, he avers, inspired the dedication of his work to humble folk. A learned account of world history, otherwise inaccessible, is here disseminated through the agency of Lindsay's poetry. Similarly, his accounts of Christian eschatology can be seen as his attempt to plug the gap created by a lack of readily available vernacular Bibles. Lindsay's didactic intentions also extended to exposing the corrupt practices of the Church. He excuses the "simpyll peple rude" their ignorance, stressing the culpability of an inadequate and immoral ecclesiastical establishment, and he offers his own "Exclamatioun agains Idolatrie" as a corrective to the erroneous teachings of the Church (2397-2705). The arguments put forward in this passage are based partly on Scripture and partly on a practical appeal to the uneducated. Can images run, he asks, can they feel, talk or see? Despite all this, we should remember that Lindsay's relationship with the humbler classes was not wholly straightforward. Although sensitive

to their situation even to the point of self-identification, he was by no means reluctant to use traditional stereotypes to full comic advantage. The Tailor and Sowtar of Ane Satyre, although not of the poorest class, are, nevertheless, 'common folk' who play no part in the serious deliberations of the three estates. Although in many ways they are Lindsay's 'brothers' called to repentance in The Monarche, as a dramatist, he could not overlook their traditional comic function.

Discussing Lindsay's determination to speak to a wider section of society brings us back to the questions raised above concerning the production and circulation of literary texts and the nature of the sixteenth century reading public. While the use of publicly performed drama renders this question less relevant in the case of Ane Satyre, it still has important implications for Lindsay's other works. Of Lindsay's works published during his life time, only three still survive: The Testament of the Papyngo (London, 1538), The Tragedie of the Cardinal (London?, 1548) and The Monarche (St Andrews?, 1554).[67] However, Hamer convincingly argues for the existence of lost editions of most of the other poems.[68] Yet this is no evidence of wide circulation. By modern standards, print runs were tiny, running to between 200 and 1000 copies with many very much smaller.[69] Books were prohibitively expensive and unsurprisingly their ownership was largely restricted to a male, social élite.[70] The situation seems to have improved somewhat during the course of the sixteenth century and, when the Scottish printer, Thomas Bassendyne, died in 1577, an inventory

67 Hamer, Works, IV, pp.17-23.

68 Ibid., IV, pp.15-26.

69 Elizabeth Eisenstein, The Printing Press as an Agent of Change: Communications and Cultural Transformations in Early Modern Europe, 2 vols, (Cambridge, 1979), I, p.11.

70 R. A. Houston, Literacy in Early Modern Europe: Culture and Education 1500-1800 (London & New York, 1988) pp.185-87.

taken of his goods included over 1300 unbound "Psalmes of Prois" and 505 unbound "David Lyndesayis" priced at three shillings each.[71] A shilling more would have purchased one of his five bound copies. However, the fact that of all Bassendyne's 510 editions only one survives vividly demonstrates the difficulties involved in assessing the scale of the sixteenth century book trade.

The other side of the dissemination coin is the question of literacy, a notoriously thorny issue in this period. It has been estimated that by the mid-seventeenth century, male illiteracy was probably running at 75% in the Lowlands, higher - possibly as much as 90% - in the Highlands.[72] Literacy in Scotland like elsewhere in Europe seems to have been firmly linked to social status and considerations of economic utility. It does, however, seem fair to say that literacy, although slight, was rising.[73] (Interestingly, Charteris's "Adhortation of all Estatis, to the reiding of thir present warkis", first printed in 1568, urged "Craftismen and merchandis" to "Reid in this Buke, the speiche gif ye can spell".[74]) Clearly though Lindsay and his contemporaries expected their work to reach a much wider audience than can be accounted for by a rise in literacy alone. For this they depended on oral communication.[75] Stewart, for example, believed that his translation would enable every man, "Other to reid

---

71 Dickson & Edmond, Annals of Scottish Printing, p.290.

72 R. A. Houston, Scottish Literacy and the Scottish Identity: Illiteracy and Society in Scotland and Northern England 1600-1800 (Cambridge, 1985) p.105.

73 Grant G. Simpson, Scottish Handwriting 1150-1650 (Aberdeen, 1977) pp.10-14.

74 Reprinted, Hamer, Works, I, pp.403-05.

75 Given the smallness of sixteenth century print runs, Fulton is surely incorrect to consider The Monarche for private rather than public reading ("Social Criticism in Scottish Literature", p.96).

the storie or till heir", a belief which echoes the cry of Gavin Douglas:

> Go, wlgar Virgill, to euery Churlych wight
> Say, I avow thou art translatit richt...
> Now salt thou with euery gentill Scot be kend,
> And to onletterit folk be red on knight
> That erst was bot with clerkis comprehend.[76]

While there are important distinctions between a 'reading' and a 'hearing' public, the paucity both of available books and those able to read them had the same consequence for both groups.[77] For each, reading was what one commentator has described as an "intensive" rather than an "extensive" business; a small number of texts being constantly read and re-read.[78] Thus, while we can not be sure who read Lindsay's works, we are perhaps on safer ground when we argue that those who did were extremely familiar with his ideas.

Central to the question of audience and Lindsay's treatment of the common folk was his commitment to the vernacular.[79] Of course, Lindsay was not alone in adopting such a position. While many, like the author of The Complaynt of Scotland, struggled with what they considered the limitations of their native tongue, they were determined to speak in the "domestic scottis language maist intelligibil for the vlgare pepil".[80] The Complaynt's function as counter-propaganda makes this

---

76 Stewart, "Prologue", Metrical Translation, 119; Bawcutt, Gavin Douglas, p.93. Although Douglas hoped for such readings for the unlettered, his primary target was gentle born laymen such as his patron, Lord Sinclair (p.94).

77 For these differences, see: Eisenstein, The Printing Press as an Agent of Change, I, pp.129-136.

78 Houston, Literacy in Early Modern Europe, p.195.

79 For an introductory look at the form the vernacular took during this period (i.e. to what extent is had been anglicized by the sixteenth century) see: G. Donaldson, "Foundations of Anglo-Scottish Unity", in S. T. Bindoff, J. Hurtsfield & C. H. Williams, ed., Elizabethan Government and Society: Essays presented to Sir John Neale (London 1961) pp.282-314, esp. pp.287-95.

80 Wedderburn, The Complaynt of Scotland, p.13.

unsurprising, but the example of the humanist translators and the same drive to inform - what has been dubbed "the popularizing mood of the time" - persuaded numerous authors to turn to the vernacular, even if there did remain a feeling that it was somehow inferior to Latin.[81] It is probably no accident that this flowering of the vernacular coincided with that brief period when the language of the Court and the language of government was familiar even to the most humble Scot.[82] Certainly, this linguistic coincidence helps explain why Lindsay felt able to address such differing audiences. If, as suggested in the previous chapter, the vernacular was central to court culture then it was even more important - if not imperative - for those authors whose didactic intentions led them to aim at a broader audience. This can be seen from The Meroure of Wyssdome in which Ireland takes pains to defend his own use of the vernacular. Confessing his ignorance of "the gret eloquens of Chauceir", he explains that clerks in Paris held "Inglis" in low regard.[83] Nevertheless, he considers it important that the "nobilitie and peple may in thar awne toung knaw the law of god". In The Monarche, Lindsay includes a very much longer "Exclamatioun to the Redar Twcheyng the Wryttyng of Uulgare and Maternall Language", justifying his use of the 'vulgair toung' to treat Scriptural material with reference to a similar pedagogic purpose:

> Tyll vnleirnit I wald the cause wer kend
> Off our most miserabyll trauell and torment,
> And quhow, in erth, no place bene parmanent.
> (542-44)

---

81 Bawcutt, Gavin Douglas, p.94.

82 Alex Agutter, "Middle Scots as a Literary Language", in R. D. S. Jack, ed., The History of Scottish Literature: Origins to 1660 (Aberdeen, 1988) 13-26, p.22. Only recently the language of government had been Latin and after 1603, the use of English would distinguish popular and élite culture.

83 Ireland, Meroure of Wyssdome, Book VII, p.164.

The poem includes the same conventional pseudo-condemnation of Lindsay's "rurall ryme" found in The Testament of the Papyngo (101). Contradicting this, Lindsay also chooses to declare this much more serious work "Off Rethorike heir", but clearly he is no longer content with the purely aesthetic aspects of his native language (103). Aureate descriptions of nature he considers "vnfrutful and vaine discriptioun", "mater without edificatioun" (203 & 205). Given the power of the passage he condemns, we can perhaps accuse Lindsay of some self-deception here. Nevertheless, having first proved that he could be a master of the art if he so desired, Lindsay then rejects this elevated style in favour of a blunter approach more suited to his proselytizing purpose. He argues, therefore, that poetry of this professedly despised sort - along with works of logic, astronomy, medicine and philosophy - may be written in whatsoever language the author wishes:

> Bot lat ws haif the buikis necessare
> To commoun weill, and our Saluatioun
> Iustly translatit in our toung Uulgare.
> (678-80)

Significantly, this, the only appearance of the term commonweal in The Monarche, is firmly associated with the use of the vernacular and the 'education' of the population. The two planks of Lindsay's educative programme were religious and social - particularly legal. As we shall see, Lindsay was an avid supporter of the call for a vernacular Bible and liturgy. In addition, he also advocated increased use of the vernacular in legal affairs. In Ane Satyre, the Pauper provides a wry reminder of popular confusion when confronted with the consistorial courts and their process of *citandum, lybellandum, opponendum, interloquendum, ad replicandum* and *pronunciandum* (3059-78). Lindsay's enthusiasm for the vernacular here has a precise social justification. Not only will it minimize the type of bewilderment instanced by the

Pauper, it will also deter crime by advertising its penalties (The Monarche, 666-67). Furthermore, it will reduce ambiguity and thereby obviate the need for greedy lawyers. In consideration of this, Lindsay is driven to cry:

> I wald sum Prince of gret Discretioun
> In vulgare language planelye gart translait
> The neidful lawis of this Regioun:
> (The Monarche, 650-52)

There was nothing radical in such a plea. The provision of an accessible corpus of Scottish law had been one of the principal reasons given for the establishment of the Scottish printing industry in 1507 and, indeed, Lindsay's lines forcefully recall the 1540 statute requiring the printing of all "actis safar as concernis the comoun wele".[84] This time a copy of the acts was actually produced - by Thomas Davidson in February 1542 - but Lindsay's demand over a decade later suggests that ignorance was still widespread. (For his publication of the Acts, Davidson used a woodcut of the Royal Arms taken from Lindsay's Armorial and the latter's possible involvement here may have contributed to his continuing concern.) That there was still room for improvement is backed up by James Henrisoun, whose "Godly and Golden Book", written in 1548, argued that the law should be codified and "prynted in there mother tonge for there better obseruacion...that none shall perishe through Ignorance".[85] Such calls did much to keep alive the ideal of a codified, accessible corpus of law and, in 1553, the Clerk Register was instructed to extract from the records all acts relating to the commonweal made since the death of James V that they might be printed "swa that na persoun may pretend ignorance in time to cum".[86]

---

84 A.P.S., II, p.379.

85 Henrisoun, "Godly and Golden Book", fol.130.

86 R.P.C., I, pp.228-29.

Our discussion so far has already suggested some of the ways in which Lindsay's poetry addressed some contemporary problems in sixteenth century Scotland. Now we must consider his social critique in more detail. Social analysis in the later Middle Ages was constrained by a number of factors promoting what has been described as a static, non-constructive approach to political theorizing.[87] The concept of Fortune, an arbitrary and implacable force in the affairs of men, undoubtedly contributed to the inhibition of a more sophisticated social analysis, but arguably the most important factor in this respect was the ethical framework within which any discussion took place. Moral failings were perceived as the cause of socio-economic problems and, as we have seen, political and ethical goals were largely interchangeable. Gradually, however, the analysis shifted beyond non-secular questions of moral responsibility, hesitantly turning to explanations involving impersonal forces open to investigation and thereafter to manipulation by legislation and government action. The reasons behind this shift are various and complex.[88] In sixteenth century Scotland, some of the catalysts seem to have been the social dislocation occasioned by the Rough Wooing, the threat to Scottish independence posed both by English and French ambitions and the highly charged religious situation.

Lindsay's poetry provides an important indicator of this process as a comparison of his two 'John the Commonweal' works illustrates.[89]

---

87 Arthur B. Ferguson, The Articulate Citizen and the English Renaissance (Durham N. C., 1965) e.g. p.33.

88 Writing of fifteenth century England, Ferguson stresses the importance of altering conceptions of historical progress, changing economic relationships and civil war (ibid., p.133).

89 For further discussion of this point, particularly with regard to the different poetical genres or 'rhetorical modes' Lindsay employed in the process, see: R. J. Lyall, "Complaint, Satire and Invective in Middle Scots Literature", in N. Macdougall, ed., Church, Politics and Society, Scotland 1408-1929, pp.44-64. esp. pp.55-56.

In The Dreme, we appreciate that just as Lindsay's geographically very precise account of the plight of sixteenth century Scotland is set within a much wider cosmological framework, so his condemnation of "Unthrift, sweirness, falset, pouertie, and stryfe," is set within a much broader moral matrix (965). The dream-voyage through Heaven and Hell clearly indicates that the poem is dealing with universal questions of sin and salvation. This is firmly brought out in John's allegorical analysis of contemporary affairs which blames the activities of 'Singulare Proffect', 'Symonie', 'Couatyce', 'Pride', 'Sensuale Plesour', and 'Cowardyce' for his extremity. The ethical theme is continued in Lindsay's 'Exhortatioun to the Kingis Grace' which, in similar fashion, focuses upon the cardinal virtues as proper companions for the young King:

> Tak Manlie Curage and leif thyne Insolence,
> And vse counsale of nobyll dame Prudence
> Founde the fermelie on faith and fortytude
> Drawe to thy court Iustice and Temporance;
> And to the commoun weill have attendance
> (1064-68)

In the closely linked poem, The Complaynt, Lindsay celebrates James's kingship by depicting royal government aided by "The four gret verteous Cardinalis" (379); the - strictly ethical - demands set down by John as the condition of his return to Scotland have been realized. All that is required, such an approach implies, is the reinstatement of a virtuous monarch and, at a stroke, violence, robbery, poverty, social degeneracy and ecclesiastical corruption are eradicated. Moreover, this desirable state of affairs is bound to come about in time for, influenced by ideas of a cyclical Fortune, Lindsay expected good rulers to follow bad as surely as "efter the nycht cumis the glad morrow" (The Dreme, 999).

In Ane Satyre on the other hand, Lindsay begins to explore contemporary society with less recourse to the established relationship

between sin and social disorder and with an attempt to discern the more immediate causes of socio-economic problems. Of course, Lindsay could not step outwith the traditional framework altogether and he does not abandon the conventional belief that the sovereign's moral rectitude is fundamental to good government. Fortune's displeasure is also invoked to explain the "meikill baill" of the realm, attributed in turn to the neglect of good counsel (582-85). However, the demands made by John in Ane Satyre are much more specific and do not always depend upon abstract, ethical concepts. This is illustrated by analysing the secular aspects of John's grievances which fall into two principal overlapping categories: justice and poverty.

John the Commonweal provides a vivid picture of the corruption of justice, bitterly denouncing the connection between a criminal's punishment and his financial and social status; poor thieves hang while "strang transgressors" purchase judicial favours (2650-61). However, Lindsay's suggestions for the strengthening of justice go beyond this straightforward attack on avarice. John requests that the process of correction begin in the borders as resistance against English incursions is hampered by criminal Scots whose activities oppress loyal labourers.[90] He urges death for all those who offer protection to such thieves, "Quhidder he war ane knicht, ane Lord or Laird" (2591). This is a simplistic, arguably unrealistic, solution but the passage nevertheless reveals a more sophisticated diagnosis of a complex problem which, as Lindsay recognizes, has implications for defence, agrarian security, productivity and ineffective law enforcement. The question of defence is also raised by Gude-Counsall's call for the national assessment of military potential in order that 'husbandmen and

---

90 This strongly echoes the complaint made by Dame Scotia's youngest son, 'the veir is cryit contrar Ingland, bot the actis of the veir is exsecutit contrar the lauberaris and consumis ther miserabil lyif' (The Complaynt of Scotland, p.97).

commons' are not obliged to bear too great a burden (2565-66). This recalls Mair's belief that it is the farmers who bear the brunt of warfare and should therefore be "treated with humanity", but it is hardly implausible that this demand originated in Lindsay's personal observations of the mustering of the Scottish army during the 1540s.[91]

Such observation must also have influenced Lindsay's proposals for an extension of the system based upon the College of Justice established in 1532. His recommendation for a second College, based either in Elgin or Inverness, suggests his approval of the institution combined with an awareness of its limitations. A second College would overcome problems of access and communication while the addition of two extra senators (Lindsay proposes sixteen rather than the original fourteen) would strengthen each individual institution.[92] Significantly, those who were making their careers in the law, men like Henry Balnaves, Thomas Bellenden, Robert Galbraith and the family of James Foulis, were men with whom Lindsay had a considerable degree of sympathy and his suggestion may have also owed something to his desire to reinforce their position.[93] His proposal was accordingly well thought out. He details not only the composition of the new College but also the salaries of its members, proposing what was surely a most unrealistic - almost tenfold - increase in government expenditure

---

91 From the Commentary on Aristotle's Ethics (1530) quoted: James Burns, "The Scotland of John Major", Innes Review, II, (1951) pp.65-76, p.66.

92 The original College constituted seven lay senators and seven clerics plus a clerical Chancellor (A.P.S., II, p.335-36).

93 Although Lindsay refers to them as 'cunning Clarks', (3853) he surely is not proposing an all clerical institution. This certainly would not accord with his desire to reserve spiritual judgement for matters spiritual. For an account of the social background of lay lawyers (the majority from 'lairdly families') see: G. Donaldson, "The Legal Profession in Scottish Society in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries", Juridical Review, 21, (1976) 1-20, p.9.

(3845-56).[94] Aware no doubt of the problems already experienced in funding the system, he proposes that this should be paid for with monies arising from his proposed dissolution of Scotland's nunneries. Clearly this measure was inspired by Henry VIII's dissolution of the monasteries in England (which measure, Reformers had originally hoped, would provide for the foundation of schools, almsgiving and the like). In this way, Lindsay insinuated some of the social and financial benefits of dissolution in a manner which would appeal to those in authority. The creation of a second northern college - in Aberdeen - was also proposed by James Henrisoun in his "Godly and Golden Book" (1548), but as this was never actually published, it is hard to claim it as the source of Lindsay's ideas.[95] Certainly, Lindsay fails to display that characteristic concern with trade and industry which has led one commentator to describe Henrisoun's work as "nothing less than a commonwealthman's manifesto for the regeneration of Scotland".[96] Nevertheless, it is clear that by the middle of the sixteenth century, a more informed, more prescriptive debate concerning society and government was beginning to take shape.

Another complaint made by both Henrisoun and Lindsay concerned the "endlesse abhominable consistorie lawes", which, "prolixt, corrupt and perpetuall", both oppressed and impoverished the poor.[97] While Henrisoun believed that such cases should be heard before barons and parsons, if major before Session, Lindsay approaches the problem from

---

94 Judicial salaries were to be paid for with £1400 raised from clerical taxation. Lindsay proposes salaries of 500 merks for the senators, 1000 for the Chancellors (£12666 8d).

95 Henrisoun, "The Godly and Golden Book", fol.131.

96 Marcus Merriman, "James Henrisoun and 'Great Britain': British Union and the Scottish Commonweal", in Mason, Scotland and England, pp.85-112, p.97.

97 Henrisoun, "The Godly and Golden Book", fol.133; Lindsay, Ane Satyre, 2666.

the other side, arguing that the Church's jurisdiction be strictly limited to spiritual affairs. Employing an argument calculated to appeal to the regency administration, he claims that this measure followed French practices (3084) where, indeed, as a result of the Edict of Viller-Cotterets, the authority of consistory courts over laymen had been restricted.[98] Lindsay's criticism may not be particularly sophisticated, but taken with his other arguments it constitutes an essentially pragmatic approach to the question of justice which represents a considerable departure from the simple (yet, it should be stressed, powerful) acclamation of justice, "hir sweird on hie", upon which he had relied twenty years earlier (The Complaynt, 381).

Lindsay's treatment of poverty again illustrates the development of his thinking. Considerations of poverty within the traditional socio-ethical matrix had largely inhibited the systematic examination of its causes in terms other than those which viewed the phenomenon as the irredeemable consequence of man's fallen nature and attempts at its alleviation focused basically upon an exhortation to almsgiving on the one hand and upon the extirpation of idleness on the other. As we have seen, Christian obligation to the poor was emphasized by traditional chivalric/kingship literature and this duty was taken very seriously. In 1535, James requested his Lords of Council that "ane man of gud conscience...be chosen by you quhilk sallbe callit *advocatus pauperum*", who in return for representing the poor was to receive an annual salary of £10.[99] Through Veritie's opening speech, Lindsay recalls this bond between the king and his poor subjects (Ane Satyre, 1035-36). However, as we shall see, the action taken to ensure that Veritie's strictures

---

98 Lyall, Ane Satyre, p.199.

99 A.D.C.P., pp.434-35.

are met depends upon more than the personal intervention of a bounteous monarch.

While sixteenth century governments little understood the chronic inflation and population explosion which combined to destabilize the economy, they were only too well aware of the poverty in which it resulted.[100] In the course of his career, Lindsay provided various explanations for Scotland's poverty. In The Dreme, he attributes it to the failure of justice, policy and peace, dependent in turn upon a virtuous adult king. In The Tragedie of the Cardinal, he emphasises war as the agent which impoverishes on both a national and individual level. But, beyond a return to adult rule and an implied advocacy of Anglo-Scottish union, he puts forward no real remedies. While Lindsay's thinking still retains many conventional elements, in Ane Satyre, he identifies some of the specific causes of poverty with a far greater degree of precision. Although more typically associated with war, plague and famine, poverty was also traditionally seen, as indeed Lindsay saw it, as punishment sent by a wrathful God (1491). (It should be noted that this idea was to form an important part of developing Protestant thought concerning God's disapproval of the Catholic faith and this may well represent the beginning of Lindsay's interest in this type of interpretation.) In a more traditional vein, he continued to subscribe to the well established and widely-held theory of the 'idle beggar' whose moral turpitude leads John to number him amongst his principal enemies (2594-2614).[101] This accurately reflects the attitude of the authorities whose anxieties were aroused

100 For population growth and inflation, see: Robert A. Dodgshon, Land and Society in Early Scotland (Oxford, 1981) pp.133-39.

101 See also, The Monarche, 1261-1305 where Lindsay argues that the idleness of man was the occasion of his corruption by Satan and eventual punishment by God. The moral implications of idleness are made clear by the lines: 'wykitnes/ Genereth, throw sleuthful ydilnes' (1263-64).

less by poverty, more by the spectre of vagrancy. This relatively unsophisticated approach contrasts with a more recognizably socio-economic analysis offered elsewhere. The poverty of the commons is, Lindsay suggests, the result of unnecessarily harsh economic exploitation by landlords both spiritual and temporal. Mails and teinds are squeezed out of the population while the practice of feuing - considerably well advanced by the mid-sixteenth century despite Lindsay's description of it as "the new plague" (2573) - is viewed as a particular cause of economic hardship and social dislocation:[102]

> Thus man thay pay great ferme or lay thair steid.
> And sum ar plainlie harlit out be the heid
> And ar destroyit without God on them rew.
> (2575-77)

Lindsay's argument, however, is not with feu-farm tenure itself but with its abuse, the favouring of the wealthy at the expense of the poor. He, therefore, advocates the feuing of all temporal lands, but only to those (presumably the sitting tenants) who actually worked the land and only if a reasonable grassum, feu-duty and augmentation were set:[103]

> Set into few your temporall lands,
> To men that labours with thair hands,
> Bot nocht to ane gearking gentil man,
> That nether will he wirk, nor can:
> Quhair throch the policy will increase
> (2685-89)

> My lords conclud that al the temporal lands
> Be set in few to laboreris with thair hands,
> With sic restrictiounis as sall be devysit
> That thay may liue and nocht be supprysit,
> With ane ressonabill augmentatioun:
> (2805-09)

---

102 For an introduction to feu-farm tenure, see: Sanderson, Scottish Rural Society, pp.64-168.

103 'Grassum' = the down payment for a feu charter.
'Augmentation' = increase in rent as the result of feuing reckoned as distinct entity in annual 'feu-duty'.

Again this echoes Henrisoun who, lamenting the plight of "the poor labourers of the grounde", argued that the lands they occupy should be "sett to them in feu or longe taxes [tacks]" at the current price.[104] We can usefully compare this approach to that of John Mair, addressing the problem several decades previously.[105] Arguing that security of tenure would encourage efforts to increase productivity, Mair believed feuing capable of quadrupling national wealth.[106] Additionally, he considered it an effective measure for diminishing the undesirable influence exerted by great landlords over their tenants. It is, unfortunately, not entirely clear who Mair's new feuars were. He writes of men who "rent their lands from the lords, but cultivate it by means of their servants and not with their own hands" which suggests that he envisaged a class of lesser landlords, a newly prosperous quasi-middle-class capable of countering the power and pretensions of the nobility.[107] Clearly, the ideal feuars of Lindsay and Henrisoun were not the same as Mair's and the vehemence with which Lindsay insisted that lands be feued to manual labourers seems almost to represent a direct riposte to the type of idea put forward by the theologian. Given this, we might think Lindsay's proposals strikingly radical, but in fact they are very similar to the measures passed in 1559 by the Scottish Church which prohibited the feuing of Kirk lands "save only to tenants and tillers of the same".[108] The key issues were

---

104 Henrisoun, "The Godly and Golden Book", fol.133.

105 Mair's well known statement on feuing is found in his History of Greater Britain, (p.47) but, as Burns points out, he also deals with land tenure in other works, notably, Quartius Sententiarum ("The Scotland of John Major", pp.66-67).

106 Burns, "The Scotland of John Major", p.67. (Dodgshon shows that feuing did indeed lead to improvements, Land and Society, pp.101-02.)

107 For more on this point, see: R. A. Mason, "Kingship, Nobility and Anglo-Scottish Union", pp.200-02.

108 David Patrick, ed., Statutes of the Scottish Church (S.H.S., 1907)

security of tenure and the protection of existing tenants. Lindsay is less concerned with the reorganization of land-holding (which topic he neglects to pursue elsewhere), more with the prevention of exploitative practices by over-powerful absentee landlords and he aims a further blow at economic abuse when he attacks the death duties exacted by both spiritual and temporal landlords (the corspresent, upcloth and heriot) and proposes their abolition.

Just how accurate Lindsay's assessment of the impact which the feuing movement had on Scotland is questionable. There were certainly evictions and undoubtedly cases of individual hardship. In 1510, for example, the Lords of Council noted that since "the tennentis of the erledome of Marche war summoned to this day to tak thair fewis, and na man com to taik thaim, that thairfor the lordis mycht sett the saidis landis to other tennentis".[109] However, at the close of the century, the majority of feus recorded in surviving charters were granted to sitting tenants, most of whom were receiving their first piece of heritable property.[110] Yet, when set against the very fact of his attempted analysis, there is a sense in which Lindsay's accuracy becomes unimportant. Of more significance is the way in which he makes a very specific call for reform, proposing its enforcement by the Estates. The forces of parliamentary legislation brought to bear upon this issue will "the Commoun-weil...advance" (3809). Again, this represents a significant advance on the idea that the commonweal will prosper simply by coming under the King's benevolent, all-encompassing gaze.

---

no.282.

109 Quoted, Ranald Nicholson, "Feudal developments in Late Medieval Scotland", Juridical Review, 18, (1973) pp.1-21, p.8.

110 Sanderson, Scottish Rural Society, p.105. See also pp.153-168 for a discussion of 'The Dark Side' of feuing.

The programme of reform advocated by Lindsay in Ane Satyre of the Thrie Estatis is hardly a model of thoughtful socio-economic analysis. Essentially individual and quirky, it addresses those problems which he considered particularly pressing. However, it is important to recognize that Lindsay was attempting a more sophisticated rationalization of social problems and, furthermore, suggesting solutions which did not rely exclusively upon moral regeneration. This emphasis upon the role of parliamentary legislation represents another new element in Lindsay's thinking, a development of his ideas concerning counsel. As we have seen, the idea of good counsel was indispensable to the discussion of virtuous kingship and consequently it receives repeated expression in Lindsay's poetry. This reaches something of a climax with Ane Satyre. Here Rex Humanitas is positively beset by a host of assorted advisors. Having brought about the King's moral conversion, Divyne Correctioun declares:

> ...Gude Counsell with Lady Veritie
> Ar profest with our Kingis Maiestie
> (3778-79)

This strongly echoes the descriptions of royal government in association with the personified virtues which we find in earlier works although, as we shall see, Veritie is not a 'virtue' in the same sense as Gude-Counsall or Chastitie but rather she represents the living Word of God, a form of Scripture-based evangelicalism which sustains the King's new-found commitment to divine injunction. This commitment is made equally to the Commonweal, for it is at this point in the play that John is stripped of his tattered rags and gorgeously reclothed. "All verteous peopil now may reiosit", declares Correctioun, "Sen Common weil hes gottin ane gay garmoun" (3773-74). However, in Ane Satyre, Lindsay does more than present allegorical abstract counsellors. We find hints of such an approach in earlier works which refer briefly to the King's "prudent lordis trew" and to his "Counsale"

(The Dreme, 1110 & The Testament of the Papyngo, 298). But it is Ane Satyre, with its parliamentary assembly, which introduces a more concrete discussion of royal counsel. Given that the play is the earliest extant example of its kind, it is impossible to say to what extent Lindsay was working within an established dramatic tradition when he introduced the three estates as *dramatis personae*. It had certainly long been common in France.[111] Perhaps Lindsay picked up on this during one of his visits there or perhaps he knew of the tradition as transmitted to Scotland. Alain Chartier's *Quadrilogue Invectif* (1422), in which clergy, nobles and commons each defend themselves, was known in Scotland at least from the date of the author's visit in 1428 and that it was still popular in the sixteenth century can be seen from its adaptation in The Complaynt of Scotland.[112] Essentially though, the estates motif was employed here in order to convey a social vision rather than to comment upon any sort of parliamentary assembly. Something more along these lines is found in Henryson's Fable, The Trial of the Fox, but here the animal parliament is concerned exclusively with the familiar theme of judicial punishment.[113] The fifteenth century Thrie Prestis of Peblis also incorporates a (human) parliament, but on this occasion the Estates are summoned only to advise the king and not for the purposes of law-making. The detailed account of specific legislation found in Ane Satyre seems to have been something new. If, indeed, Lindsay did play the part of Diligence in 1552, it would make the Herald's announcement of legislation which addresses the author's own particular social concerns particularly appropriate.

---

111 Mill, "The Influence of the Continental Drama on Lyndsay's *Satyre*" pp.437-41.

112 Ibid., p.440.

113 The Poems of Robert Henryson, II, pp.60-85.

The fundamental importance attached to Parliament in Lindsay's vision of reform is forcefully conveyed by Divyne Correctioun's bold declaration:

> I will do nocht without the conveining
> Ane Parlement of the estatis all:
> (1578-79)

Part of the reform process, we must remember, was the estates' own reformation. Their dramatic entry "gangand backwart led be thair vyces" is a compelling representation of their moral and political corruption. However, as the head has been restored, so too are the members (with the notable exception of Spiritualitie) and the estates are then involved in the redress of John's grievances. While the moral rehabilitation of Rex Humanitas in the first part of the play makes possible the political rehabilitation of John the Commonweal in the second, it is the latter, described by Diligence as "The best pairt of our Play", which really engages Lindsay's concern (1925). Certainly it is far lengthier than the drama of moral fall and redemption which precedes it.[114] Moreover, the focus of the play is no longer upon the King and the location of authority is much more fragmented. While Rex Humanitas stands by, the problems besetting the commonweal are described by John who ponders how he should deal with them if he were king (2587 & 2841). Advice is variously provided by John, Gude-Counsall, Veritie and the two lay estates while the King's involvement is paid only token recognition. A good example of this is Divyne Correctioun's declaration that the prelates be deprived and three learned clerks appointed in their place. He claims this judgment is made "With the advice of King Humanitie", but, in reality, the suggestion was Veritie's (3705 & 3155-60). Similarly, while it is maintained that Rex Humanitas, "till the Common-weil hes ay bene kynd",

---

114 The first part totals 1925 lines, the second (excluding the 'Pardoner Interlude') 2336.

John's sorry tale gives patent lie to the assertion. It is for this reason that Lindsay suggests a more formal collective responsibility when it comes to maintaining the commonweal. This becomes clear when we recall the fate of John the Commonweal in The Dreme. In this earlier work, John sadly quits Scotland vowing only to return when virtuous kingship is restored. In Ane Satyre, it has been restored, yet still John plays an active and central part in the reform process, a process which culminates when the temporal estates, "The Common-weill tak be the hand,/ And mak with him perpetuall band" (2715-16). In rousing tones, Temporalitie pledges:

> The Common-weill for till defend
> From hence-forth till our lives end.
> (2711-12)

The dramatic scene when Temporalitie and Merchandis embrace John powerfully symbolizes the ideals of social unity and collective responsibility for the commonweal. The idea of the commonweal had always stressed universal good above singular profit and, on one level, this is what the lay estate's commitment to John is all about - a dramatic reminder that all sections of the audience have to attend to the commonweal. But, significantly, whereas in The Dreme it seems that good government - being simply a question of monarchical morality - can - and indeed will - be restored in a matter of time, in Ane Satyre the audience is left with the impression that John's security rests upon more fragile foundations, depending not only upon the continued goodwill of society but also on the effective enforcement of the new legislation. This represents a further reason for Lindsay's modification of the commonweal ideal. Significantly, the principle has become much more formalized, institutionalized even. The arena in which the point is made is a recognizable parliamentary assembly and the agency whereby it is enacted is the formal band, the favoured Scottish method of describing allegiance. The ideal of the commonweal

is not only a guiding political principle for the whole community (symbolized by John's installation amongst the estates), it could, on occasion, attain a certain coercive force. The decision to dissolve the nunneries, for example, is taken not only "Becaus thay ar nocht necessair", but also because "thay ar contrair/ To Iohn the commounweill" (3702-04).[115]

While the ideal of the virtuous king remained very much part of Lindsay's - and indeed of Scotland's - political thinking, it is clear that the idea of commonweal gradually assumed an ever greater importance. Peace, policy and prosperity joined justice as the new virtues of the commonweal alongside, sometimes over and above, the cardinal virtues traditionally associated with the person of the monarch. Perhaps this explains the apparent confusion surrounding the pageantry designed for James VI's entry into Edinburgh in 1579. As Calderwood tells us, the King was met by representations of the four cardinal virtues, or, "as others report, Peace, Justice, Plentie and Policie".[116] In addition to shifting the moral focus, the relationship between king, community and commonweal is subtly modified by Lindsay. While, in theory, society had always aspired to the ideal of universal and public good, now the political community was being invited to play a much more decisive, more formal role in achieving that aim - a role which might be seen as previously belonging to the king.[117] When we

---

115 Also, 3090-92 where the principle of commonweal is used to override Spiritualitie.

116 Calderwood, History of the Kirk of Scotland, III, p.458. One of those to name the 'commonweal virtues' was the author of The Historie and Life of King James the Sext: 1566-1596 (Bannatyne Club, 1825) p.179.

117 From the evidence of parliamentary language, the respective roles of the King and the Estates in framing legislation does not appear to have been an issue. A wide variety of formulae is used to introduce acts of parliament. Perhaps the most common was the simple, 'It is statuit and ordanit...' but others included 'the king and the haill parliament has statute and ordanit...', 'the parliament has statute and ordanit...' (both 1432), 'our Souerane

consider the background against which Ane Satyre was written, this shift is less than surprising. Not only was there an infant girl on the throne, but Lindsay's changing expectations of noble and lairdly achievement coupled with his personal parliamentary experiences encouraged this development. Julian Goodare has suggested that John the Commonweal was "not a proletarian but a petty bourgeois", whose installation amongst the estates foreshadows the admission of the shire commissioners in 1587.[118] While it is more correct to see John as the embodiment of a principle rather than any particular class, that principle is designed to appeal to men of Lindsay's position. We can not say that Ane Satyre demands radical social revolution, or even the step taken in 1587, but arguably it was the type of thinking we see in Lindsay, the insistence that both parliament and society - but particularly parliament - embrace the idea of commonweal, that helped pave the way for such developments.

---

lord with auise, and auctoritie of the thre Estatis of his realm...', 'The kingis grace with auise and consent of the thre estatis of his realm...' (both 1526) and "It is statute and ordanit be the Quenis Maiestie and the thre Estatis in Parliament...' etc. (1563), (A.P.S., II, p.20, 22, 306, 307 & 539).

118 Goodare, "Parliament and Society", p.472.

P A R T III

REFORM AND REFORMATION: THE CHURCH

Gett vpe, thow slepist all to lang, O Lorde,
And mak one haistie reformatioun.
(The Monarche, 2701-02)

Chapter Seven

Religious Debate: The Humanist Critique

> Thocht Gawine Dowglas, Bischop of Dunkell,
> In ornate meter surmount did euerilk man;
> Thocht Kennedie and Dunbar bure the bell
> For the large race of Rhetorik thay ran:
> Yit neuer Poeit of our Scottische clan,
> Sa cleirlie schew that Monstour with his markis,
> The Romane God, in quhome all gyle began,
> As dois gude Dauid Lyndesay in his warkis.[1]

Following his death, the reputation of "gude Dauid Lyndesay" stood high, not least, as the above passage makes clear, for his perceived religious opinions. Lindsay's savage satire of a corrupt ecclesiastical establishment, his angry attack upon the papacy and his apocalyptic vision greatly appealed to Protestant Scots of the later sixteenth and seventeenth centuries and they did not hesitate to claim him as one of their own.[2] This has served to colour subsequent interpretations of Lindsay's religious position and his reputation as "a Calvinist of the sixteenth century" has been long-lived.[3] Even if we are wary of accepting the enthusiasm of Charteris and his colleagues at face value, it must be borne in mind that most of the earliest extant editions of Lindsay's works, printed after 1560 and the establishment of the Reformed Kirk, may have been influenced by the same convictions.[4] Editorial vigilance surely explains at least one difference between two early texts when an obviously Catholic reference to the intercessory role of the Virgin escapes the notice of Bannatyne

---

1 "Ane Adhortatioun of All Estatis, To the Reiding of Thir Present Warkis", 17-24, The Warkis (1568). Reprinted, Hamer, Works, I, pp.403-05.

2 Aldis, A List of Books Printed in Scotland, n.p.

3 John Nichol, Sir David Lyndesay's Works, Part V, Minor Poems (E.E.T.S., 1871) p.liii.

4 For a discussion of Protestant revision of Catholic authors, see: A. MacDonald, "Poetry, Politics and Reformation Censorship in Sixteenth Century Scotland", English Studies, 64, (1983) pp.410-21.

but not of Charteris (Ane Satyre, 4622-24). However, the often awkward attempts to justify some regrettable 'Papist' lapses found in early editions does suggest that this type of Protestant revision was not automatic (given what Lindsay did say elsewhere such details could be overlooked) and it is on this assumption that we have to use the existing texts to analyse Lindsay's thinking.[5] Lindsay's well established reputation as a religious radical was eventually challenged by an attempt to recast him in the role of orthodox reformer whose aims were at one with the contemporary impetus for reform found within the sixteenth century Church.[6] The picture is, however, more complex than either of these interpretations suggest. Indeed, the very fact that such revisionism has been possible hints at the subtleties of the situation and the extraordinarily fluid ideological context of the pre-Reformation period.

As recent studies have stressed, the Scottish Reformation can not be viewed as the simple confrontation of two opposing faiths, its outcome either straightforward or predetermined.[7] On both sides of the

5 A marginal note in the 1568 edition of The Warkis exclaims, 'Quhat horribill torment of consciens was this auricular confessioun' going on to excuse references to Purgatory and Limbo with the words, 'He semis rather to elude then to allow of Purgatorie' and 'Sic wes the ignorance of thai dayes thit men euin of scharpest iugement culd not espy all abusis', (Hamer, Works, III, pp.18-19).

6 Brother Kenneth, "Sir David Lindsay, Reformer", Innes Review, I, (1950) pp.79-91. This view is expounded at length by William Robinson Barclay in his Ph.D thesis "The Role of Sir David Lindsay in the Scottish Reformation", University of Winsconsin, (1956). More recently, James Cameron has emphasised Lindsay's position within the traditions of Erasmian humanism. While not concurring with Hamer's view of Lindsay as a Reformer, he agrees with him that Lindsay was 'the lay apostle of the people of Scotland', ("Humanism and the Religious Life").

7 Some of the most important recent contributions to Reformation history include: Ian B. Cowan, The Scottish Reformation - Church and Society in Sixteenth Century Scotland, (London, 1982), G. Donaldson, The Scottish Reformation (Cambridge, 1960), J. Kirk, Patterns of Reform: Continuity and Change in the Reformation Kirk (Edinburgh, 1989), Michael Lynch, Edinburgh and the Reformation, (Edinburgh, 1981), David McRobert, ed., Essays on the Scottish Reformation, (Glasgow, 1962), M. H. B. Sanderson, Cardinal of

religious divide there were large areas of uncertain ground. Amongst the Reformers, new ideas were introduced and circulated in what was probably an erratic fashion; there was little unity and no coherent sense of progression towards a perceived goal. The Church too was on less than firm ground for until the deliberations of the Council of Trent were known, definitions of heresy and orthodoxy were far from clear-cut. If early Reformers were confused about what they were fighting for, the Church, initially at least, was just as confused about what it was fighting to defend. To approach the Reformation in this way provides a more meaningful framework within which to locate Lindsay's works as the atmosphere of religious debate which characterised the period equally moulded the development of his thinking. Within his poetry we find elements dependent upon a multiplicity of sources: the orthodox teachings of the Church, educated Christian humanism and thoroughgoing evangelical Protestantism together present a superficially bizarre combination of contradictory ideas. But this is hardly surprising in a man still groping towards understanding in an uncertain religious climate.

Stressing the fluidity of Lindsay's ideological background does not allow us to duck entirely that hoary old chestnut, 'Was Lindsay a Protestant?', and perhaps it is as well to state at the outset that his uncompromising rejection of the Lutheran doctrine of Justification by Faith Alone binds him unquestionably to the Catholic Faith. It is, after all, this question of the relationship between man and God which lies at the heart of the Reformation. At the same time, however, he was deeply concerned by the visible abuses he saw around him and, in typically Erasmian fashion, launched an impassioned plea for a spiritual and moral renaissance in the religious life. More alarmingly

---

Scotland: David Beaton, c.1494-1546, (Edinburgh, 1986), J. Wormald, Court, Kirk and Community: Scotland 1470-1625, (London, 1981).

for the Church, this was supplemented by a potentially more radical political critique which took its cue from developments south of the border. In addition, his work displays the subtle yet unmistakable influence of Protestant thinking and, pushed into an ever more hostile position, Lindsay ended up denying some important tenets of the Church. Thus, while not an out-and-out Protestant, Lindsay was something more than a straight forward Catholic reformer. The tensions in Lindsay's thinking may make for a more complex study than has sometimes been thought but, seen in this way, he presents a more accurate reflection of religious culture in Renaissance Scotland.

It is clear that - at least from the known onset of his literary career - Lindsay was deeply vexed by questions of sin and salvation, of heaven and hell and, on a more terrestrial plane, by the conduct of Church affairs (especially clerical standards) in sixteenth century Scotland. Central to this was the fundamental concern he, like all men, felt for the welfare of his eternal soul. So basic as to pass unacknowledged by many commentators, the commitment with which men approached religious affairs can only be satisfactorily understood within this context. This intensity is most overt in Lindsay's final work, The Monarche. Written late in life with death preying upon his mind (he had only recently escaped a shipwreck), the poem is, amongst other things, an examination of the Four Last Things (death, judgement, heaven and hell) and how best to prepare oneself for the life to come. However, while all men had an interest in religious affairs, not all men were moved to commit their thoughts to paper. We have already considered some of the factors which contributed to Lindsay's emergence as a poet and dictated the political nature of his compositions. Now we must look at the reasons why he also engaged in a critique of the Church. Perhaps the most obvious explanation is that his outrage was stimulated by the visible abuses which existed in the sixteenth century

ecclesiastical organization. The kind of attack on simony and covetousness, pride, ambition and sensual pleasure found in The Dreme recurs throughout the corpus of his work. In launching such attacks, Lindsay was able to draw upon a long literary tradition of religious satire.[8] As this suggests, such dissatisfaction was nothing new - the history of the Church is littered with repeated attempts to admonish the slack and to promote renewed Christian zeal. In the first decades of the sixteenth century, however, the Church was particularly vulnerable to such criticism. Indeed, this was something recognized by the Church itself and in the course of three provincial councils, held between the years 1549 and 1559, steps were taken to address the situation. The Council of 1549 identified two of the major sources of popular discontent as "the corruption of morals and profane lewdness of life in churchmen of almost all ranks" and the prevailing "crass ignorance of literature and all the liberal arts".[9] While this diagnosis is simplistic, the significance of both the criticism and response should not be underestimated. As Wormald reminds us, these complaints represent no more than the criticisms of an articulate minority.[10] But it is equally true that any chance of change lay only with this élite.

Despite the problems indicated above, it is a serious mistake to over-emphasize the weaknesses of the Church in early sixteenth century Scotland. The relative spiritual and material health of the monasteries, the many collegiate foundations of the period, numerous endowments and donations generously bequeathed (especially to the

---

8 H. C. White, Social Criticism in Popular Religious Literature of the Sixteenth Century (New York, 1944), chpt.1.

9 Patrick, Statutes, 'Preamble', p.84. See also: Cowan, The Scottish Reformation, pp.40-42, 49-53 & p.71.

10 Wormald, Court, Kirk and Community, p.89.

friars) and a popular enthusiasm for shrines and pilgrimages testify to the fact that, in many respects, the Church was a vital organization which continued to command a great deal of loyal respect amongst the faithful. Few of the most visible cases of abuse were new and several probably aroused a general feeling of what is best described as tolerant irritation. Yet, in certain quarters at least, the problems of the Church were met with a new - or perhaps more accurately, with a different - sense of outrage. The expectations of an emerging educated laity were changing, demanding greater lay participation in the religious life. This shift operated on different levels. Practically speaking, it represented a challenge to the primacy hitherto exercised by the Church over such matters as the provision of education and legal services, care for the poor and patronage of the arts, all of which were now being contested by a growing section of the laity. This process had been underway since the fifteenth century - by the sixteenth, the secularizing tendency was firmly established. Measures such as the foundation of the College of Justice which stipulated a 'mixed' composition clearly signalled that the law, to give but one example, was no longer the prerogative of clerics. For many a burgess, the extension of the town council's sphere of influence was an expression of a growing sense of importance within the community derived largely from an improving socio-economic base. However, for a small élite amongst the educated laity, the drift towards secularization was underscored by potent ideological considerations, considerations which would challenge the Church on more than the socio-administrative front.

The introduction of humanist ideas into Scotland and the Court in particular has been charted in an earlier chapter and there is no doubt that the humanist ethos which encouraged education in the *bonae litterae* - especially as a preparation for civic or courtly service -

facilitated increased lay involvement in government as is witnessed by the careers of men such as Sir James Foulis, Sir Thomas Erskine and Robert Galbraith. However, this was not the only implication of humanist influences in court circles. The new humanist scholarship with its emphasis upon classical language and learning, philological and textual criticism and rhetoric paved the way for much intense debate of religious matters. Advances in the study of Greek and Hebrew made it possible to cast doubt upon traditional interpretations of the Bible, to regard them as unacceptably obscured by anachronism and complex textual criticism. Erasmus's Greek New Testament published in 1516, for example, marked a significant challenge to the Church's claim to be sole interpreter of Scripture. The textual purity for which humanism strove was paralleled by a striving for spiritual purity both within the institution of the Church and within the heart of the individual. The former called for moral and institutional regeneration, a return to the perceived pristine purity of the apostolic church, a reorientation towards the spiritual and away from the secular. The latter manifested itself in the typical humanist concern for moral behaviour, a concern which was underpinned by faith in the power of education, specifically in the power of the written text, to turn men to the active Christian life. With ignorance and tradition blocking the path to virtue and salvation, the scholarship of Christian humanism offered the key to improved spiritual well-being. As such, humanism was by no means inimical to orthodox theology but, initially at least, it proved a destablizing ideological factor in a situation already unsettled by the gradual infiltration of Protestant opinion.

Lutheran ideas had been entering Scotland, principally via the East coast ports, since the 1520s as is evidenced by the Government's somewhat panicky legislation of 1525 and 1527 forbidding the

importation of heretical literature.[11] The flow, however, continued throughout the next decade, occasionally sparking moments of official outrage and alarm. In a letter of 1534, James V informed his council of his concern that Lutheran books and tracts were being smuggled into "Leith, Edinburgh, Dundee, Sanctandrois, Montros, Abirdene and Kirkaldy " and ordered them to "provid and see the scharpest way possible for the staunching thereof".[12] Of equal if not greater significance for the influx of Protestant opinion, although far harder to trace, was the influence of individuals and their personal relationships. We can perhaps guess at the impact of a personality such as Patrick Hamilton or George Wishart, but it is much harder to assess the role played by anonymous travelling scholars and merchants, or even more specific persons such as the Cromwellian emissaries to the Scottish Court, Dr William Barlow and Sir Ralph Sadler. A further problem encountered in assessing the early faltering steps of Protestantism in Scotland is the uncertainty as to the form of the 'Lutheran literature' reportedly in circulation. It is unclear which ideas were available and could be most readily taken up.[13] However, it appears that a major part of the illicit cargoes comprised English vernacular bibles. An English ambassador in Antwerp in 1527 reported that English books - Tyndale's New Testament - were being shipped into both England and Scotland, to Edinburgh and to St Andrews in particular.[14] The impact of such literature and indeed of Lutheran opinion in general is extremely

---

11 A.P.S., II, p.295.

12 A.D.C.P., p.432. This was followed up by parliamentary legislation (A.P.S., II, pp.341-42.)

13 For a discussion of this, see: Gotthelf Wiedermann, "Martin Luther versus John Fisher: Some Ideas concerning the Debate on Lutheran Theology at the University of St Andrews", R.S.C.H.S., XXII, i, (1984) pp.13-34.

14 L. & P. Henry VIII, IV, ii, no.2903.

difficult to assess. Its spread seems to have been a fragmentary business possessing no real geographic or theological unity. However, whether it is true to declare the growth of Protestantism before 1540 and even later as a "far from major problem" is debatable.[15] The existence of pockets of heretical opinion within the country and at Court should not be overlooked. It had put down roots which although not widespread did, in places, run deep and which, most important of all, proved difficult to weed out. Certainly the suppliers of vernacular bibles and Lutheran texts considered that demand warranted the hazardous business of exportation and their wares were eagerly received by a minority of Scots, some of whom - as is testified by the library of Sir John Borthwick - were influential members of society.[16] We can not say for certain whether Lindsay had access to such literature but at least one commentator thinks that he may have read Luther's writings and certainly, as we shall see, there is enough in his work to demonstrate a degree of familiarity with Protestant opinion.[17] That we should find such echoes in Lindsay's work again suggests that Lutheran opinion was being discussed, if not openly disseminated, at Court.

An easier debt to trace is that owed by Lindsay to his reading of Scripture. According to Hamer, the Vulgate is Lindsay's most

---

15 Ian B. Cowan, "Regional Aspects of the Scottish Reformation", (Historical Association, 1978) p.8 & 19. Discussing this problem, in particular the difficulties assessing the available evidence, Sanderson concludes that 'The extent of commitment to Lutheranism...is simply not quantifiable', (Cardinal of Scotland, p.79).

16 The risks attendant on such a trade were high. In 1527 one M. de la Tour was executed in Paris on the charge of distributing heretical books into Scotland, (Wiedermann, "Martin Luther versus John Fisher", p.13).

17 Cameron, "Aspects of the Lutheran Contribution to the Scottish Reformation", p.2.

consistent biblical source.[18] At some stage, however, he may have acquired an English version.[19] Vernacular scripture was not only a vigorously advocated ideal of Lindsay's, its influence is also visible in his work.[20] It is in fact quite difficult to tell which of the available English bibles Lindsay possessed or had access to, but it is probably fair to assume that it was the same as that brandished by Veritie, "In Englisch toung, and printit in England" (1146).[21] The first to merit such a description is Coverdale's translation, first printed in 1535 and issued two years later under royal licence. The same year also saw the London publication of Matthew's Bible, a work which drew upon the earlier versions of both Coverdale and Tyndale. An edition of the latter's New Testament was produced in London in 1538 and in the following year the Great Bible (Coverdale's revision of Matthew's Bible) appeared. It was probably this which was used by the English government in its attempted destabilization of the Scottish Borders and also, briefly, when supporting the reform policy of Arran's regency administration.[22] While we can not say for certain which bible Lindsay possessed, the Great Bible of 1539 is perhaps the most likely candidate. Certainly, if he obtained it in the early 1540s, it would

---

18 Hamer, Works, III, p.245.

19 According to Hamer, in an action brought after Lindsay's death disputing the ownership of his goods there is a reference to 'ane byble in Inglis' (Works, IV, p.276). Hamer cites as his source the Register of Acts and Decreits, XV, fol.78^{v}-79^{v} which appears to be a misprint as I have been unable to locate the action in this volume.

20 According to Hamer, 'There are renderings from one of Tyndale's English translations, as in the use of the word 'congregation' as a translation of 'ecclesia' in line 2556 [of The Monarche]' (Ibid., III, p.245). However, see also p.339 where Cranmer's 1539 bible is suggested as a possible source.

21 For a list of those available, see: A. S. Herbert, A Historical Catalogue of Printed Editions of the English Bible 1525-1961 (London & New York, 1968)

22 Hamilton Papers, I, nos.299 & 303.

explain the increasingly intense concern with the dissemination of vernacular scripture observable in his later works.

The ideological and religious flux which existed in the early to mid-sixteenth century was particularly noticeable at Court. Chapter Three has traced the emergence of what was termed an 'evangelical party' which, however heterogeneous in its composition and attitudes, seems to have constituted a challenge to the religious conservatives. As we saw, this ill-defined group incorporated at least a small number of the non-aristocratic laity at Court, men such as John Borthwick, Henry Balnaves, Thomas Bellenden, James Learmonth and James Kirkcaldy who during the course of the 1530s came to espouse Protestant ideas. Indeed, the relative ease and alacrity with which Arran was able to introduce his reform-type policies suggests that there must have existed a significant, albeit hitherto largely silent, degree of support for at least a limited reform programme before the death of James V in 1542. Humanists both lay and clerical probably sympathized with many of the reforming ideals supported by men such as Erasmus, More and Colet. Given that factional divisions and jostlings for the King's ear (although less than clear cut) were discernibly ideological, and that James himself seems to have encouraged this development, the situation in the 1530s assumes something of the character of a religious debate. Perhaps this is too weak a word for a conflict which forced men into exile and even claimed their lives, but by European standards the number of executions in Scotland was small and at times it must have seemed as if the heart and mind of the King were there for the winning. We ought, therefore, to view the Court as a something of a forum for religious debate during this period. The royal correspondence with Erasmus and more especially with the Catholic controversialist Cochlæus and his opponent, the exiled Scot, Alesius, must have been an important talking point and their heated discussion

over the question of vernacular scripture would have echoed throughout the palaces of Scotland.[23] This atmosphere helps explain why religious issues assumed so natural and so important a place in the work of a court poet writing in this crucial period. Moreover, fictive writing is a particularly effective medium in such a debate. Although Lindsay's audience was to some extent a captive one, a poem or a play is likely to attract a more enthusiastic, possibly less critical, response than a learned treatise or sermon. Additionally, poetic exaggeration can stress a point yet need not destroy a case, while at the same time occasional ambiguities can prove useful. As has been argued, the 1540 Epiphany drama provides a compelling case for considering court literature in this way as a form of Evangelical persuasion.[24] However, at least a decade before this date, Lindsay was using his verse to exhort the Government to "haue Ee" unto the Spiritual estate (The Complaynt, 412).

The most striking characteristic of those of Lindsay's early works which concern the Church (The Dreme, The Complaynt and The Testament of the Papyngo) is their thoroughly humanist complexion. The tone of Lindsay's humanism is typically Erasmian. Theologically conservative, it focuses for the most part upon questions of moral behaviour. Lindsay barely touches upon matters of doctrine, but instead launches upon a moral critique of the Church's failings addressed, again in typical humanist fashion, to the King. Lindsay's aggressive attack, albeit ethically orientated, actually represents a challenge to the Church on a number of fronts: he assailed clerical standards with

---

23 James V, Letters, p.241, 252, 260-61, 271 & 273-74, (June 1533-August 1534).

24 Walker, "Sir David Lindsay's *Satire*". For a more general discussion of the persuasive function of political drama, see the same author's Plays of Persuasion: Drama and Politics at the Court of Henry VIII (Cambridge, 1991).

accusations of ignorance and immorality, he challenged the position of the Church in secular affairs (specifically its legal jurisdiction) and, by citing the example of the pure apostolic Church and with reference to Scripture, he brought into question the validity of several established aspects of the Church's teaching.

By far the most frequent and most vehement of Lindsay's complaints in these poems are those directed against standards of clerical behaviour and morality. The depraved cleric, of whatever ecclesiastical rank, was a common medieval *topos*, a favourite target for the satirist's pen, and Lindsay's work must be viewed in this traditional context. Nevertheless, while the literary conventions used by Lindsay may have shaped his work to some extent, they also served as an entirely appropriate vehicle for the expression of his ideas. The ethical thrust of the complaint genre perfectly complements the moral emphasis inherent in his humanist critique. Significantly though, Lindsay was not content merely to rehash well worn stereotypes for the amusement of his audience, he eagerly promoted a humanist inspired programme of education, preaching and spiritual reform.

Like that of many humanists, Lindsay's attack upon churchmen was savage in expression yet by no means radical in intention. Simply put, he believed that the spiritual estate no longer "...mad ministratioun/ Conforme to thare vocatioun" (The Complaynt, 414-15). The ignorance, immorality and worldliness of the clergy are not just deplorable in themselves, but more importantly they interpose a serious barrier between the people and their salvation. Typically, Lindsay measures the failings of the sixteenth century in terms of a perceived discrepancy between it and a consciously historical vision of the early Christian Church:

> ...ye bene all
> Degenerit from your holy prematyuis,
> As testyfeis the proces of your lyuis.

(The Testament of the Papyngo, 770-72.)

Although something of a literary cliché, this approach was widely adopted by evangelical reformers of whatever theological hue.[25] Evidently, Lindsay considered it sufficiently powerful to provoke his audience. First employed in The Complaynt, it is most comprehensively expressed in The Testament of the Papyngo when the dying parrot presents an elaborate, allegorical account of the corruption of the Christian ideal. Through his mouthpiece the Papyngo, Lindsay praises Spirituality's "peirles, prudent predicessouris", identifying the outstanding attributes of this period as chastity, poverty, devotion and evangelism (773). This state of affairs was, he maintains, destroyed by the endowment of the Church by the Emperor Constantine during the pontificate of Sylvester (803-16).[26] Then, as Lindsay describes it, 'Property' flourished and brought forth two daughters, 'Ryches' and 'Sensualytie', who together rule the spiritual estate.

This was not, however, Lindsay's first denunciation of clerical corruption. For that we must turn to his earliest extant work and John the Commonweal's attack on simony, avarice, pride, sensuality and ambition (979-87). With simony taken as a manifestation of avarice, these faults are entirely ethical in their nature. This is in keeping with the tone of the poem as a whole which, as we have seen, presents a diagnosis of social ills in an accustomed ethical formulation and demands a moral regeneration of all elements of society (the king in

---

25 Euan Cameron, The European Reformation (Oxford, 1991) pp.46-48. Cameron suggests that this idea, impractical and inaccurate, may in fact have considerably damaged the reputation of the Church and the morale of its personnel.

26 The apocryphal story of the Constantine donation was a well established tradition which Lindsay uses no less than four times in his works (The Dreme, 233, The Testament of the Papyngo, 803, Ane Satyre, 1450, The Monarche, 4410). He seems to have been unaware of the scholarship of the fifteenth century humanist, Lorenzo Valla, who had demonstrated that the document registering the supposed Donation was in fact a forgery.

particular) in order to restore the health of the commonweal. The importance of universal moralities is paramount. Thus, in his "Exhortatioun to the Kyngis Grace", Lindsay offers no specific suggestions for Church reform but focuses instead upon an ultra-traditional, allegorical advocacy of the cardinal virtues. Nevertheless, the vices considered here - identified by Dame Rememberance as "...Couatyce, Luste, and ambysioun" - provide a good example of that anticlericalism which would prove such a consistent element of his work (The Dreme, 183).

With regard to 'couatyce', Lindsay does offer some slightly more specific criticisms, attacking the practice of simony and the misuse of ecclesiastical revenue. Instead of effecting a tripartite division of income for the upholding of the Kirk, for the upkeep of Church property and for alms, "the Patrimonie and rent" is spent "On cartis, and dyce, on harlotrie and huris" (200 & 207). It is, however, in The Testament of the Papyngo that we find clerical avarice denounced most savagely. Lindsay makes clear that it is the morally reprehensible abuse of wealth rather than the principal of ecclesiastical endowment itself which is under attack for, despite the instances of saintly poverty cited as examples of virtue, the Parrot still asserts:

> Ryches, I grant, is not to be refusit,
> Prouinyng, alwaye, it be nocht abusit.
> (973-75)

As well as using the satire of Propertie and her daughter, Ryches, Lindsay also employs his bird-clerics for the purposes of illustrating covetousness - this time on a more immediate and personal level. As the Parrot approaches death, there appear on the scene a Pye, Reuin and Gled (Magpie, Raven and Kite), identified respectively as an Augustinian prior, a monk and a friar. The three avow their concern for the Papyngo's spiritual welfare, but it is immediately apparent that their only interest lies in her "gudis naturall" (658). Their

acquisitiveness is further heightened by the comments of the Papyngo who remarks how the village women dread the approach of the greedy friar and recollects how she herself was witness to his theft of a chicken. The Gled in turn justifies his action by saying he took it "bot for my tiend", a practice instituted by papal authority (681). The climax to this indictment of clerical greed occurs at the end of the poem when, in a scene of quite shocking brutality, the three birds reveal their true carrion nature and "Full gormondlyke" fall upon the Papyngo's corpse devouring it "Quhill scho is hote" (1149 & 1151). The poem which begins as a courtly rendition of a fall-of-princes type tragedy, the language elevated and dignified, ends on a completely different note, evoking squalid morality, physical violence and, in the audience, revulsion and horror. In attacking the worldly greed of the clerical establishment, Lindsay was hitting the Church on its most vulnerable spot, for arguably financial grievances did more than any other to sour clerical-lay relationships at least at a parochial level. The real and underlying problem here was not ethical but institutional - the system of appropriations whereby the revenues of the parish were appropriated by various religious institutions such as cathedrals, monasteries, collegiate churches and universities. By the sixteenth century, the revenues of 86% of all parish churches had been appropriated, and by 1560 only 148 remained independent.[27] Arrangements to serve the appropriated parishes involved the installation of a vicar. However, failure to provide the majority of vicars with an adequate stipend meant that they were rarely of the highest calibre and economic necessity forced many to exploit what was

---

27 Ian B. Cowan, "Some Aspects of the Appropriation of Parish Churches in Medieval Scotland", R.S.C.H.S., XIII, (1959) pp.203-22, p.203. See also Cowan's Scottish Reformation, where he points out that as these independent parishes were particularly coveted by pluralists they were not necessarily any better served (p.65).

their most readily available source of extra income - their parishioners. Teinds (which formed part of the appropriated income) were rigorously exacted, often resulting in acrimonious litigation, and on top of this the average parishioner faced numerous and strident demands for mortuary dues and other 'voluntary' offerings. The greed of Lindsay's cleric-creations in The Testament of the Papyngo must have struck a chord with his audience.

The Testament of the Papyngo is also interesting for the light it sheds upon Lindsay's ambivalent attitude to the friars. As in The Testament of the Papyngo, he often makes them the subject of a fierce satirical onslaught which, like his later criticisms of their privileges, their craven reluctance to denounce malpractice and their idolatry, may owe something to a longstanding tradition of anti-mendicant literature.[28] Yet on other occasions, Lindsay adopts a markedly less hostile tone. The friars appear to have constituted a particularly vital aspect of the religious life in pre-Reformation Scotland, the scale of donations and endowments made to them suggesting considerable popular support. This may, however, have been largely restricted to the more wealthy members of urban society to whom they principally ministered and from whom they drew their recruits.[29] The poor may have been more resentful of their relative prosperity and comparative disregard for the humbler elements of society. Lindsay, the upholder of an idea of the commonweal which placed such importance on social interdependence, would have shared their indignation. A major reason for the friars' success was the vigour of their preaching and, although he believed the secular clergy should be the active

---

28 Ane Satyre, 774-76, The Tragedie of the Cardinal, 313 & Ane Satyre, 750-52, The Monarche, 2589. For literary attacks on friars dating back at least to the thirteenth century, see: R. N. Swanson, Church and Society in Late Medieval England (Oxford, 1989) p.261.

29 Cowan, The Scottish Reformation, pp.44-48.

preachers in the community, Lindsay acknowledges the activity of the friars in this sphere. This assuredly explains his occasional ambivalence.[30] In The Dreme, John describes how virtue has been largely driven from the spiritual estate and "Deuotion is fled vnto the freris" (982). In The Testament of the Papyngo, however, besides the savage characterization of the avian friar, we find admiration and criticism delicately juxtaposed:

> War nocht the precheing of the beggyng freiris,
> Tynt war the faith amang the Secularis.
> (1036-37)

Later, Lindsay's opinion hardened. Not only are his criticisms more frequently expressed, but in Ane Satyre he presents a bitterly twisted version of his earlier idea, for on this occasion, the "Deuotioun" who hides himself amongst the friars is really Flatterie under an assumed name. In view of such hostility, Lindsay's belief that even a "small nummer" of friars will find a place in Heaven appears surprisingly complimentary (The Monarche, 5684). Lindsay's attitude towards the friars has been examined in some detail as it nicely illustrates the difficulties of attempting a categorical assessment of his opinion, especially given the literary clichés in which much of the discussion was couched. We can only offer definite statements with respect to any particular period and even then they may require careful qualification.

The second of the clerical vices identified by Dame Rememberance was lust, a frailty which by its very nature invites colourful criticism and certainly Lindsay seems to have responded to the challenge. In The Dreme, he attacks clerics who misuse their revenues to clothe their mistresses and provide for their bastards (209-12), while, in a prefiguration of Ane Satyre, The Testament of the Papyngo describes how Dame Chastitie was driven from the Church by Lady

---

30 The Tragedie of the Cardinal, 310 & The Monarche, 2598 & 4493.

Sensuall. Again, satire at the expense of sexually immoral churchmen was a common literary motif and need not be taken too seriously as precise criticism. In these early poems, the criticisms are couched in general terms with none of the specifically targeted attacks found, for example, in Ane Satyre. Typological figures are being employed within a traditional framework, one particularly suited to Lindsay's humanistic - essentially moralistic and didactic - critique. As we have seen, Lindsay also relies upon a familiar humanist argument when, to support his points, he harks back to the idealized standards of the early Church. As we shall see, however, this leads him to adopt, in one respect at least, a more radical position than is otherwise encountered in these early poems. Just as he attacks avarice with an account of apostolic poverty, so Lindsay also counters sexual immorality with an appeal to historical precedent - not by advocating, as might be expected, clerical celibacy, but by insisting that as the early Church supported continence within marriage, so should that of the sixteenth century.

Lindsay's treatment of the theme of chastity in The Testament of the Papyngo includes a consideration of nuns, specifically the Convent of Sciennes in Edinburgh. While he criticizes "The sillye Nonnis" for succumbing to the blandishment of Ryches and Sensualitie, it is notable that he excepts the sisters of Siennes from his attack (908). Such sympathetic treatment has led to the conclusion that Lindsay must have had a relative amongst the sisters, but as Sciennes was a recent foundation (1517) and the nuns all ladies of rank it could be that Lindsay had personal reasons not to give offence.[31] Again we see how hard it is to pin Lindsay down to any one position. Moreover, even if

---

31 Hamer, Works, III, p.108.

his attitude were sincere in 1530, as with the friars, it would harden greatly by the time he came to write Ane Satyre.

We find a greater degree of precision in Lindsay's criticisms of clerical ambition - the third of Dame Rememberance's vices - particularly as it relates to the involvement of churchmen in secular affairs. While the dual role of churchmen as spiritual pastors on the one hand and as secular landowners, statesmen, lawyers and officials on the other, had always generated some tension, this had largely been mitigated by the fact that, in a virtually illiterate lay society, the educated clergy were the only suitable candidates for such positions. However, by the sixteenth century, the situation was changing owing not least to the humanist programme for lay education. Now that there were increasing numbers of laymen able to occupy positions hitherto monopolized by the Church, there was also debate concerning the nature of clerical duties.[32] While in The Dreme Lindsay places churchmen who "seruit wardlie Prencis insolent" in Hell (192), it is The Complaynt which offers the most cogent attack upon the worldly ambition of churchmen found in these early poems. The Complaynt is the most overtly autobiographical of Lindsay's works and here his criticisms are made with specific reference to the circumstances of the minority. Indeed, it seems to have been during these years at Court that Lindsay's attention was first drawn to the type of abuse here described:

> The proudest Prelatis of the kirk
> Was faine to hyde thame in the myrk
> That tyme, so failyeit wes thare sycht.
> (309-11)

It has been argued that this refers to the deprivation of Archbishop James Beaton by Angus in 1526, but the lines seem simply to suggest that political circumstances instilled a large measure of worldly

32 Wormald, Court, Kirk and Community, p.83.

cynicism amongst those whose eyes ought to have been upon higher things.[33] Prelates, Lindsay suggests, were over-concerned with temporal affairs, assuming the mantle of secular lords and using their position to provoke internal strife for their own ends:

> Thir Peruerst Prelatis ar so hie.
> From tyme that thay bene callit lordis,
> Thay ar occasioun of discordis,
> (344-46)

Lindsay matches this criticism of clerical involvement in domestic politics with an attack upon their position in the court and session:

> So blyndit is thare corporall Ene
> With wardly lustis sensuall,
> Takyng in realmes the gouernall,
> Baith gyding court and cessioun,
> Contrar to thare professioun,
> (314-18)

According to Lindsay, clerical involvement in this respect should allow only for intervention in matters spiritual, "Referryng vnto lordis and kyngis/ Temporall causis to be desydit" (328-29). In this way, Lindsay developed a conventional criticism of clerical worldliness into a vigorous challenge to the role of the Church in secular government, a challenge which effectively represented a significant claim for the laicization of government. Lindsay could be sure that such a challenge would receive an appreciative response from at least certain sections of his audience. Tension between the secular and spiritual authorities seems to have been a feature of the period, surfacing, for example, in February 1539 when Foulis "protestit...that hes grace nor his lordis of counsale be nocht astreynit to obey ony inhibitions fra ony judge spirituale, bot that thai may proceid in ony matter and geffe lettres conforme to justice as the use has ben in tymis bigane".[34]

---

33 Chalmers, Lyndsay, I, p.269.

34 A.D.C.P., p.479.

In addition to those clerical vices identified by Dame Rememberance, Lindsay's early poems reveal a typically humanist concern for clerical ignorance and, related to this, for standards of preaching. The advice of the Reuin given in The Testament of the Papyngo is "thame promoue that war moste sapient" and, dealing with the wider problem, he urges lay Lords to ensure the education of their sons thereby guaranteeing a new generation of learned clerics (1031). This stress on education as the key to spiritual regeneration is typical of humanist, especially Erasmian, thinking. Ironically, although the situation is so desperate even the Reuin recognizes the problem, he and his two colleagues display an ignorance of vocation and office bordering on the sacrilegious. The birds' frantic attempts to persuade the Papyngo of their sincerity only comprise such casual allusions to their offices as to suggest their utter depravity - they are willing to "deuotely saye.../ The auld Placebo bakwart" and to minister to the Parrot were her soul committed to the pagan god of the underworld (704-05). Here we have the nub of Lindsay's quarrel with the clergy. As represented by him, they have no consideration for the welfare of their flock, and indeed positively stand between them and eternal salvation. In such terms, The Dreme describes those clerics damned in Hell:

> In thare difaltis, thare subdetis wer misgydit,
> And comptit nocht thare God for tyll offend,
> Quhilk gart tham want grace at thair letter end.
> (213-15)

Lindsay's criticism is not therefore concerned with academic qualifications but with the clergy's ignorance as to the nature of their vocation and their duties towards their flock. As Lindsay understood it, this duty consisted primarily of preaching and ministering the sacraments. The duty of priests was:

> To Preche with vnfenyeit intentis,
> And trewly vse the Sacramentis,
> Efter Christis Institutionis,
> (415-16)

By 1530, the preaching of the Gospel and the administration of the sacraments according to Christ's institution were distinctive marks of the Church for Lutherans and Lindsay seems here to echo the Confession of Augsburg formulated that same year:

> The Church is the Congregation of the saints, in which the Gospel is rightly taught and the sacraments are rightly administered.[35]

Although Lindsay's words are not in themselves unorthodox and hardly constitute conclusive proof of a commitment to Lutheran beliefs, they do suggest that the spirit of the Reformers was beginning to exert a subtle influence on his ideas and to inform the language in which he expressed himself.

Of the two vocational elements mentioned by Lindsay, it was preaching which claimed the greater part of his attention and all three poems under discussion here carry a strong evangelical call. In The Dreme, the principal issue at stake is salvation through penance and churchmen are castigated for "...thay did nocht instruct the Ignorant,/ Prouocand thame to pennance, be preching" (190-91). In The Complaynt, however, the emphasis has been subtly shifted. Lindsay declares preaching the rightful "professioun" of clerics and compares those who do not preach to "Doggis that can nocht bark" (325 & 22). But he no longer links his call for increased preaching with the administration of the sacraments and that particular path to salvation. His words suggest instead a more Scripture-based, evangelical conception of preaching as he attacks those priests who "...may nocht thole the lycht/ Off Christis trew Gospel to be sene" (312-13). Again this shows an intellectual debt to humanist, possibly even to Lutheran, ideas.

While in general Lindsay's treatment of matters of doctrine in these early poems was largely conservative, we also see instances of some more radical thinking. It should of course be noted that this

---

35 E. G. Rupp & Benjamin Drewery, Martin Luther (London, 1970) p.145.

type of discussion does not feature prominently in these works and that, given the non-dogmatic character of the pre-Tridentine Church, Lindsay's theological position - ambiguous as it was - would not necessarily have brought him into conflict with the clerical authorities. Nevertheless, these early flashes of a more unorthodox approach are well worth consideration.

From at least 1528, Lindsay's understanding of Purgatory seems to have been somewhat unclear. It appears in The Dreme as a port of call in the narrator's dream-voyage when, having described his journey through Hell, Lindsay continues with his passage through Purgatory and Limbo. But, compared to his detailed treatment of the former, these receive scant attention: twenty five stanzas deal with Hell, only four with both Purgatory and Limbo. Moreover, although the narrator dreams of Purgatory, he appears to question whether it is the inevitable destination of his soul. "I purpose neuir to cum heir agane", he tells Dame Rememberance, but recollecting the teachings of the Church, adds (somewhat cryptically):

> Bot, yit, I do beleue, and euer sall,
> That the trew kirk can no waye erre at all.
> Sic thyng to be gret Clerkis dois conclude;
> Quhowbeit, my hope standis most in cristis blude.
> (347-50)

The emphasis on Christ's suffering as the basis of hope was characteristically, although by no means exclusively, a feature of Lutheran thinking. Whether Lindsay was in fact here seriously challenging the Church along Lutheran lines is almost impossible to tell; he was of necessity highly ambiguous and only tone of voice could reflect any intended irony in the narrator's possible repudiation of the learned clerks' scholarship. The phrase "the trew kirk" is also suggestive, for Lutherans commonly drew the distinction between the true Church which can not err and that of tradition which can.[36]

---

36 Paul Althaus, trans. Robert C. Schultz, The Theology of Martin

Again, however, it is hard to decide whether Lindsay is deliberately expounding a specific Protestant viewpoint or whether his language and general outlook have been subtly informed with a Lutheran-type ethos resulting in a new way of expressing himself yet not a new Faith. Further ambiguity is created by Dame Rememberance's response to the narrator's request to remain in Heaven:

> ...my freind, thow mon returne againe,
> And for thy Synnis, be pennance, suffer paine,
> And thole the ded, with creuell panis sore,
> Or thow be ding to ryng with hym in glore.
> (606-09)

While this adds weight to a proclaimed acceptance of Purgatory, and while capable of an entirely orthodox construction, at least one commentator has been struck by the manner in which these lines appear to echo Luther's thinking on the theology of the Cross.[37] In conclusion, with regard to Lindsay's position on the doctrine of Purgatory, it seems best to agree with Cameron who writes: "Like the early Luther, he did not deny its existence, but he really had no time for it".[38] The roots of this attitude are, however, much harder to understand. Certainly, some humanist thinkers derided the mechanics of the doctrine, the "imaginary pardons" and laborious mathematical calculations as to the time one could expect to spend in Purgatory.[39] It is also interesting that the denial of Purgatory was one of the charges levelled against the Lutheran martyr Patrick Hamilton and was

---

Luther (Philadelphia, 1966) p.342.

37 Cameron, "Aspects", p.3. Cameron is thinking particularly of the last two of the Ninety Five Theses, 'Christians should be exhorted to seek earnestly to follow Christ the Head, through penalties, deaths and hells. And let them thus be more confident of entering heaven through many tribulations rather than through a false assurance of peace'.

38 Ibid., p.3.

39 B. Radice, trans. with notes by A. H. T. Levi, Praise of Folly: Erasmus (London, 1971) pp.126-27.

subsequently prominent in the heresies associated with his teaching.[40] As such it may have been one of the more conspicuous features of early Scottish Protestantism. However, which of these - if either - Lindsay picked up upon is unclear. Whichever it was, it seems to have strengthened his understanding of the personal relationship between God and his soul, deepening his suspicions of the Church's claims in this respect.

In his next poem, The Complaynt, Lindsay turned his attention to images and pilgrimages, but here his criticisms owe little to Protestant thinking and everything to the humanist-informed attack upon "vaine traditiounis" (418).[41] Moreover, "that the king should aim to end such practices is defended from the Old Testament and not, it is interesting to note, as with Luther, on the basis of the doctrine of the priesthood of all believers".[42] In selecting "superstitious pylgramagis" and "Prayand to grawin Ymagis" (421 & 422) as his targets, it is hard to say whether Lindsay was first and foremost demonstrating (even flaunting) his familiarity with contemporary humanist concerns or whether in fact he was drawing attention to two aspects of the popular religious life in Scotland crying out for reform.[43] Certainly, given

---

40 For the charges against Hamilton, see: Knox, Works, I, p.16 and for the claim that denial of Purgatory occupied a place in what he calls the 'Hamilton tradition', Wiedermann, "Martin Luther versus John Fisher", p.25.

41 Hamer considers this to mark the first appearance of Lindsay the Reformer (Works, IV, p.xvii). Cameron seems more accurate when he writes, 'The inspiration is probably more Erasmian than Lutheran' ("Humanism and the Religious Life", p.169).

42 Cameron, "Aspects", p.4. However, it is also interesting to note that Balnaves's Lutheran "Treatise on Justification" (1548) urges kings to 'put downe all false worshippinges and superstition' and cites examples from the Old Testament to support his case (printed as revised by Knox in Knox, Works, III, pp.405-542, p.528).

43 Erasmus for one was a critic of both pilgrimages and misplaced prayers to images. For a discussion of this in respect of *Enchiridion militis christiani*, see: John C. Olin, Christian Humanism and the Reformation - Desiderius Erasmus (New York, 1965) pp.337-38. See also Praise of Folly, p.128.

Lindsay's humanist sympathies, they appeared so to him and he would return to both issues at greater length in later works. In The Monarche, for example, he presents an extended account of the "Imageis maid with mennis hand", found "...in every kirk and queir/ Throuch Christindome, in burgh and land" (2282 & 2280-81). The list of some thirty saints popular in Scotland suggests that, whether Lindsay approved or not, these saints played an important role in popular religious life. Pilgrimages too exercised a powerful hold upon the Scottish imagination. Probably owing to rising costs and to religious and political upheavals within Europe, pilgrimages overseas appear to have been less commonly undertaken in the sixteenth century than hitherto. Traditional Scottish devotional centres, however, remained popular and new shrines, like that at Loretto in Musselburgh, were founded.[44] If Lindsay hoped to persuade the King to put a halt to the pilgrimage industry, he was ploughing stony ground, for James V, like his father before him, was an enthusiastic pilgrim and offered shrines such as Loretto his financial patronage.[45] Arguably, the most significant point of Lindsay's attacks upon imagery and pilgrimages was the debt they owed to humanist thinking and an appeal to scripture. The Complaynt marks the first appearance of the latter argument in Lindsay's work. But it was one which, as we shall see, became an increasingly important feature of his thinking.

In The Testament of the Papyngo, Lindsay's critique of the Church is again grounded in humanist rather than Lutheran thought.[46] The poem

44 Cowan, The Scottish Reformation, pp.7-9.

45 R.M.S., III, no.1403; T.A., VI, p.200-01, 299 & VII, 24.

46 This point is endorsed by Cameron who writes, 'Lindsay's criticism of the Church's practices here...is essentially a moral one, it is not distinctly Lutheran...There was for Luther...a theological element which many who agreed with his moral condemnation did not share. There is no indication that Lindsay's attack at this stage went appreciably beyond that of the humanist who advocated moral

is not an attack upon the doctrine of the Confession but upon the corrupt practices which accompany it and the transgressions of the avian clerics are, as we have seen, essentially moral transgressions. Despite her misgivings, the Parrot does finally make her confession and is shriven. (We should also note that in The Dreme, Hell is inhabited by women who "did thame neuer schryue", who "repentit neuer in thare lyue". 282 & 284) In one respect, however, Lindsay does adopt a more radical position in this poem, namely in his advocacy of clerical marriage, an argument indebted to Protestant rather than humanist thinking. Believing sexual laxity to be consequent upon the imposition of clerical celibacy ("Wantyng of Wyffis bene cause of appetyte", 870), he calls for the marriage of prelates to be sanctioned under papal licence (1055-56). Until the Council of Trent made the opposing position a matter of dogma, the advocacy of clerical marriage was not, strictly speaking, a heretical act. It is, however, hard to visualize how even his qualification would have rendered Lindsay's proposal acceptable to the Church authorities. The issue was a contentious one and often prominent in early skirmishes between Protestant and Catholic. It seems to have surfaced in Scotland during the 1530s when a number of Protestant sympathizers - clerical and lay - said to have attended the marriage of Thomas Cocklaw, Vicar of Tullibody, were executed for heresy.[47] This was not the sole charge against the hereticsm, but the marriage ceremony seems to have been the catalyst which provoked the Church's action in the matter. (Cocklaw himself was condemned to imprisonment and fled the country.) Lindsay's call may indicate the existence of a more widespread sympathy for clerical

---

reform.' ("Aspects", p.4.)

47 Calderwood, History of the Kirk, pp.124-25. A modern account is provided in Sanderson, Cardinal of Scotland, pp.83-84.

marriage which, nine years later, would oblige the Church to take this vigorous action.

Lindsay's participation in the religious debate had the dual intention of exposing corruption and inspiring reform. Typically the agent of reform was the King. Given Lindsay's very king-centred political thinking, this is hardly surprising. Moreover, such an approach was in line with how humanist thinkers tended to address the problem and since the Scottish King, like many of his European counterparts, had gradually accumulated a whole host of rights over the Church in his realm, the strategy was not without some justification. The direct "Exhortatioun" contained in The Dreme does not, it is true, specifically address the question of religious reform, but the main body of the poem strongly suggests that such action is required. This is made explicit in The Complaynt when Lindsay urges James V to "haue Ee" unto the spiritual estate (412), obliging them to conform to their vocation and to suppress such superstitious practices as pilgrimages and praying to images. In order to add greater force to his advice, Lindsay here reminds James of those biblical kings who resisted idolatry and were rewarded by God and - more tellingly perhaps - of the fates of those who did not (424-48). While the Papyngo's "Epystyll to the Kyng" offers no advice concerning the ecclesiastical estate, the religious message benefits from being more forcefully articulated in the second part of the poem when the Reuin blames the avarice, worldliness and ignorance of the clergy, not upon the introduction of property and wealth, but upon princes who secure benefices for unworthy candidates:[48]

---

48 Fulton regards this as 'just another example of the sophistry by means of which the corrupt clergy justify themselves' ("Social Criticism in Scottish Literature", p.92) but Lindsay is in fact identifying a very real problem here. For a discussion of this, in particular those abuses perpetrated by James IV, see: Wormald, Court, Kirk and Community, p.80. (The opportunity for royal patronage was the result of the papal Indult of 1487 which had

> Prencis, prencis, quhar bene your heych prudence
> In dispositioun of your Benefices?
> (1004-05)

This was hardly a novel criticism. The fifteenth century poem, The Thrie Prestis of Peblis, levied exactly the same charge against a negligent monarch who, realising the truth of the complaint, is driven to surrender all interest in "kirk-gude" and to declare that churchmen shall "have all the charge" (434 & 435). Lindsay's solution was less radical, proposing that appointments be made in consultation with "ane Congregatioun" of learned kirkmen (1019). Here Lindsay shows that there is still a place for churchmen in the traditional business of advising the King. However, that place is restricted to purely Church affairs. Moreover, whether James would have been happy with this constraint upon his ecclesiastical patronage is doubtful. While the king was traditionally and theoretically bound to seek advice, Lindsay's 'Congregatioun' may have been a different matter. James may have been more responsive to the idea subtly suggested when the Gled snatches up the Papyngo's heart, which organ she had expressly intended for her sovereign. The Church, such an episode implies, is avaricious to the point of robbing the Crown. The corollary of this, insinuated if not openly stated, is that the King should consider remedial action and retribution. However, Lindsay here was not demanding that the King undertake a full-scale Protestant settlement. Rather he called upon him to encourage what was essentially a programme of moral regeneration along humanist lines. There is in these early works no real political element of the kind which made this type of criticism so threatening to the Church. Nor, as yet, did Lindsay envisage a role for the king which went beyond the traditional guardianship of haly kirk.

---

allowed Scottish kings eight months in which to nominate a successor when a vacancy occurred in a major benefice or abbey. In 1535, James V inveigled the Pope into extending the period of nomination to a year.)

Interwoven with the key intellectual and ideological characteristics of the early poems, we can also detect an essentially personal piety focusing upon the individual's relationship with Christ rather than upon the intercessory and interpretive role of the Church. We have already seen something of this in the discussion of Lindsay's attitude towards Purgatory and his declared intention to place his hope "in cristis blude" (The Dreme, 350). This emphasis on Christ was probably one of the most important features of late medieval piety and the period witnessed an enormous expansion of interest in the Passion with Corpus Christi emerging as one of the most significant festivals of the Christian calendar.[49] This development underlay the popularity of mysticism (a particularly flourishing tradition in fifteenth century England) and the type of contemplative spirituality known as *devotio moderna* popular on the Continent. It also informed the thinking of northern humanists such as Erasmus who, while criticising ignorant mechanical devotions and vulgar superstitions, emphasised the inner life and personal piety. We find something of this contemplative personal spirituality surfacing, for example, in Lindsay's Testament of the Papyngo:

> Quarefor traist nocht in tyll auctoritie,
> My deir brother, I praye yow hartfullie,
> Presume nocht in your vaine prosperitie;
> Conforme your traist in God alluterlie;
> (598-601)

As this passage illustrates, such contemplative personal spirituality often accompanied a renunciation of trust in earthly institutions. Reconciling the conflicting calls of piety and position proved

---

49 See for example: A. N. Galpern, "The Legacy of Late Medieval Religion in Sixteenth Century Champagne", in Charles Trinkaus, & Heiko A. Oberman, The Pursuit of Holiness in Late Medieval Religion, S.M.R.T., 10, (Leiden, 1974) pp.141-76, pp.169-73, Christopher Harper-Bill, The Pre-Reformation Church in England 1400-1530 (Harlow & New York, 1989) pp.65-66 and Swanson, Church and Society, p.276.

difficult for Lindsay and his early work vividly reveals the uncomfortable ideological tensions felt by a courtier who was often profoundly disturbed by his environment. The Court, as presented here, offers an uncertain life. Not only does the arbitrary force of Fortune pull security from under men's feet (as graphically charted in The Testament of the Papyngo), but even basic ideas of Christian morality offer no guide. The court is a place where such ideas are perverted and twisted; self-indulgence and licentiousness flourish, corruption and depravity prosper. Of course, this type of 'anti-court' literature was very traditional and to a certain extent the lurid pictures of court life, found for example in The Complaynt and The Testament of Bagsche, may be seen as part of this stylized genre.[50] Nevertheless, Lindsay's unease appears to run deeper than this. Both his animal-courtiers, the Papyngo and Bagsche, ultimately lament that they ever came to court in the first place and we can not help wondering whether this is an expression of Lindsay's own regrets. In The Complaynt, he considers the merits of a "quiet lyfe, and sober rent", and threatens to withdraw "Unto my sempyll Hermytage" (504 & 506). The context of this warning - the mock petition of a disgruntled old servant - cautions us against taking it too seriously, but its juxtaposition against a particularly repellent depiction of a morally depraved court does heighten its attraction. Moreover, it is perhaps significant that pondering the same question over twenty years later, Lindsay returns to these ideas employing exactly the same turn of phrase (The Monarche, 4999). Lindsay's aversion to his courtly environment and his yearning for a more spiritual existence is revealed most clearly in The Testament of the Papyngo. The vices of which temporal courts are the

50 For an introductory survey of the genre, see: Sydney Anglo, "The Courtier: The Renaissance and Changing Ideals", in A. G. Dickens, ed., The Courts of Europe, Politics, Patronage and Royalty 1400-1800 (London, 1977) pp.33-53.

very embodiment are banished from "That quyet court, myrthfull and Immurabyll", which is the Court of Christ (613):

> Traist weill, thare is no constant court bot one
> Quhare Christ bene king, quhose tyme be interminabyll
> And heycht tryumphant glore be neuir gone.
> (612-14)

As we saw above, Lindsay urges his fellow courtiers to "traist nocht in tyll auctoritie", but to place their hope "in God alluterlie" (598 & 601). We might think this simply the expression of a fairly conventional piety were it not for the fact that Lindsay himself seems to have realised the absurdity of a courtier urging such a course of action on his fellows. Attempting to defuse his earlier words, he continues:

> Syne, serue your Prince, with enteir hart, trewlie;
> And, quhen ye see the court bene at the best,
> I counsall yow, than draw you to your rest
> (602-04)

This reconciliation of the court of the earthly Prince on the one hand and that of Christ on the other is an uneasy business and we can not believe that Lindsay is satisfied with such a clumsy attempt at resolving the dichotomy. Indeed, that he was not is clear from his final work, The Monarche, which as well as conveying his personal struggle with this question also demonstrates its final triumphant resolution.

In conclusion, Lindsay's early work points to some of the areas of the debate concerning the Church as it was conducted within Court circles. Clearly there were calls for reform along humanist lines which Lindsay was aware of and to which he offered his support. Through his poetry, the humanist reforming agenda was set clearly and insistently before King and Court. In addition, his work reveals many attitudes - biblical, christocentric, evangelical, emphasizing preaching, downplaying the sacraments - which although rooted in a traditional and orthodox spirituality have also been identified as

distinguishing characteristics of early Protestant piety in Scotland.[51] While it is true to say that Lindsay experienced no conversion of faith, he was certainly sympathetic to some Protestant ideas and some passages of his work reflect the subtle influence of Lutheranism. His experiences in the next decade were to prove crucial in the development of his thinking.

51 Cameron, "Aspects", p.10.

Chapter Eight

Religious Controversy: Home and Away

While it is important to understand the intellectual and ideological background which shaped Lindsay's religious position, we must not forget that he was equally influenced by his own observations and experiences. Following the composition of The Testament of the Papyngo sometime in 1530, Lindsay appears to have temporarily abandoned public criticism of the Church. He was probably involved in the 1540 Epiphany drama which, in similar fashion, used court entertainment to further the evangelical cause, but, until the 1550s, we have nothing comparable to his early critique. Of course, there may have been such works, now lost, but it could simply be that during this period (certainly until 1543) he was too committed to his official duties to pen anything other than those poems more specifically related to the Court (The Answer to the Kingis Flyting, Bagsche, The Deploratioun, The Iusting and Syde Talis). Alternatively, in a period when the Church was rather more on the offensive in the battle against heresy (nineteen people were executed in the decade and a half after 1528), he may have deemed it prudent to withdraw from such a public forum.[1] It would be a mistake, however, to consider this a fallow period insofar as the development of Lindsay's religious thinking is concerned. On the contrary, his experiences in three key areas were to prove enormously influential. These were his travels outside Scotland, the situation at the Scottish Court and - particularly during the later 1540s - his position as a member of the Fife community.

As we have seen, Lindsay's first known journey abroad (1531) took him to the Netherlands from where he was able to report preparations being made for an imperial expedition against the German Lutherans.

---

1 Sanderson, Cardinal of Scotland, p.78.

Owing to the geography of the situation and the position of Charles V as both hereditary ruler of the Low Countries and elected Holy Roman Emperor, the impact of Martin Luther and the ensuing controversy was felt more acutely and more immediately in the Low Countries than at the comparatively remote Stewart Court. Arriving in the wake of the Diet of Augsburg, Lindsay probably gained an enhanced understanding of some of the points at issue. He can not have failed to appreciate the seriousness of the controversy nor its potential for national conflict.

Lindsay's principal destination during this decade was not, however, the Netherlands, but France, which he is known to have visited on three occasions. During the 1520s, the ideological situation in France as elsewhere was complex and fluid. It was a period when clear cut confessions of faith were yet slowly emerging.[2] The first recorded appearance of Lutheranism in France was in 1519 and two years later on 15 April 1521 the Sorbonne issued its *Determinatio* formally condemning 104 of Luther's propositions. The situation was complicated by the fact that the Sorbonne, fiercely determined to safeguard Catholic orthodoxy, viewed with suspicion any deviation from its own narrow, scholastic teaching and consequently humanism - already regarded in a hostile light - also came under attack. This led to clashes with the King who, although uncompromisingly antagonistic towards heresy, was anxious not to enact measures which would stifle the intellectual movement his generous, if somewhat erratic, patronage had done much to foster. This then was the background to Lindsay's first visit to France in 1532 and during his nine month stay in the country he could not but have been aware of the religious debate. Moreover, his second visit in 1534 took place only a few months after a sermon preached by Nicholas Cop, heavily influenced by the works of Erasmus and Luther,

---

2 R. J. Knecht, Francis I (Cambridge, 1982) p.141.

had created uproar in the French capital (November 1533). October 1534 also witnessed a watershed in the history of the Reformation in France with the 'Affair of the Placards' when, in October of that year, religious radicals posted broadsheets in Paris and other French towns attacking "*les horrible, grands & importable abuz de la Messe papalle*".[3] It is not clear exactly when Lindsay left France, but Beaton, a member of the same delegation, was still in the country at this point and probably at Court.[4] It seems likely, therefore, that Lindsay too was witness to the critical events of autumn 1534. The real significance of the Affair lies in the fact that it revealed a much more radical form of religious unorthodoxy than had been hitherto apparent: a militant sacramentarianism which owed more to Huldrych Zwingli than Martin Luther. It was this - rather than any perceived personal insult - which so alarmed Francis and resulted in his greater willingness to condone the rigorous extirpation of heresy advocated by the Sorbonne and Parlement. It may be no coincidence either that in June 1535 the Scottish Parliament re-enacted its own anti-heresy legislation.[5]

This experience may well represent Lindsay's first encounter with Zwinglian theology and sacramentarianism in particular - although there are signs that Zwinglianism was already making inroads into Scotland.[6] This was probably more marked following the mission of George Wishart in the 1540s, but sporadic outbreaks of iconoclasm and the theological

---

3 Ibid., p.248.

4 Sanderson, Cardinal of Scotland, p.77. C.f. Mill who thinks the delegation probably returned sometime in August ("The Influences of the Continental Drama", p.427).

5 A.P.S., II, pp.341-42.

6 For more on Zwinglian doctrine on the Eucharist, see: Gottfried W. Locher, Zwingli's Thought: New Perspectives, Studies in the History of Christian Thought, XXV, (Leiden, 1981) pp.22-23 & p.325.

attacks on sacramentarianism launched at the university of St Andrews suggest that the contribution of Zwinglianism to early Scottish Protestantism should not be overlooked.[7] One result of Lindsay's visit to France was his early exposure to such ideas. Although it is extremely unlikely that Lindsay would have embraced an idea as radical as the denial of the Real Presence, his response to it is unknown for he never referred to the doctrine in any of his works. This raises interesting, if perhaps unanswerable, questions concerning the difficulties of interpreting Lindsay's religious position from the evidence of his works. Does the fact that he fails to refer to this fundamentally important doctrine mean that he was simply not interested in the controversy or was it such a benchmark of Protestant opinion that it was best left firmly alone? Perhaps the real significance of the Affair of the Placards for Lindsay was to teach him how potentially explosive an issue the Mass was.[8]

While it is almost impossible to assess the effect of his French experiences upon Lindsay's religious thinking, it is much easier to trace the profound influence of contact with England. As far as is known, Lindsay's first visit to England took place in February 1532 when he arrived at Court seeking safe-conduct for the embassy travelling to France of which he himself was a member. His stay was probably brief but it occurred at a significant juncture for anyone interested in Church reform. In November 1529, the Reformation Parliament had assembled at Westminster. By the time Lindsay arrived in London, statutes had been passed reforming mortuary and probate

---

7 Duncan Shaw, "Zwinglian Influences on the Scottish Reformation", R.S.C.H.S., XXII, (1986) pp.119-39.

8 A similar reluctance to broach the issue is shown by Scott in Ane New Yeir Gift to the Quene Mary, when he declares, 'With mes nor maytnes nowayis will I mell/ To iuge thame iustlie passis my ingyne", 97-98 (The Poems of Alexander Scott, pp.1-8).

fees, clerical pluralism and non-residence, while Convocation had submitted to the King's demand that he be styled "Sole Protector and Supreme Head of the English Church". (Admittedly they had obtained the important qualification "as far as the law of Christ allows", but the direction of the Government's thinking was becoming clear.) By the time Lindsay returned to England on his journey home from France nine months later, parliament had passed the Act in Conditional Restraint of Annates, the independence of Convocation had been quashed with the Submission of the Clergy, and the resignation of the Chancellor, Thomas More, had signalled his dissent from such a programme of action. When Lindsay next visited England in August 1535, the King's 'Great Matter' had been settled: Anne Boleyn was Queen, More and Fisher had paid for their opposition with their lives and parliamentary legislation had all but completed the Henrician break with Rome. Ecclesiastical reform enacted by virtue of royal authority - over-riding, if necessary, the interests and position of the first estate - was, as Ane Satyre forcefully illustrates, an idea to which Lindsay grew greatly committed. At home, he seems to have enjoyed sympathetic contact with men such as the English ambassador, Ralph Sadler, and the Scotsman, Sir John Borthwick, both of whom were associated with the ideals of Cromwellian reform, and his own commitment was surely inspired and fostered by the example of England. It may also have been his English experiences which reinforced Lindsay's belief in the importance of disseminating reforming opinion and the key the role a writer could play in this process. In 1535, when Lindsay was in England, Cromwell was engaged upon a vigorous propaganda campaign conducted through the media of pamphlets and sermons.[9] Lindsay may also have heard of Henry's attendance a couple of months earlier at a savagely

---

9 Guy, Tudor England, pp.136-37.

anticlerical play in which the King was depicted cutting the heads off his obstinate clergy.[10] While it is probably incorrect to suggest that there was an officially organised campaign of dramatic propaganda - centred, for example, around Bale's King John, first performed with the patronage of Cromwell and Cranmer in 1538 - individuals can not have failed to appreciate the didactic potential of such performances.[11] Certainly, John Foxe, like most of his contemporaries, supported drama and the "players, printers, preachers...set up of God, as a triple bulwark against the triple crown of the Pope to bring him down".[12] That Lindsay was directly inspired by any one performance - either witnessed or heard about - seems unlikely, but the idea of using a play in this way may have stimulated his imagination.[13]

Lindsay's religious thinking was also deeply affected by the situation which existed at the Scottish Court during the 1530s. As we have seen, there existed at Court a small but by no means uninfluential group of laymen (men such as Kirkcaldy of Grange, Learmonth of Dairsie, Henry Balnaves and Thomas Bellenden) who, at some point during the

---

10 L.& P. Henry VIII, VIII, no.949.

11 Walker, Plays of Persuasion, p.195. For a discussion of King John, see, pp.169-221.

12 Quoted from Actes and Monuments by John N. King, English Reformation Literature: The Tudor Origins of the Protestant Tradition (Princeton, 1982) p.277. See also recommendations of antipapal drama in the tract, "A Discourse touching the Reformation of the Lawes of England", discussed by Sydney Anglo ("An Early Tudor Programme for Plays and other Demonstrations against the Pope", Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes, XX, (1957) pp.176-79.)

13 Lyall suggests that if Ane Satyre has a model then it is the English Protestant morality, Lusty Iuventus (Ane Satyre, p.xxvi). However, this probably dates from the mid-1540s - later than the 1540 play which Lindsay would have known anyway (Helen Scarborough Thomas, ed., An Enterlude Called Lusty Iuventus: Liuely describyng the frailitie of youth: of nature, prone to vyce: by grace and good councell traynable to vertue by R Wever (New York & London, 1982). Moreover, Lusty Iuventus carries none of the political overtones which so distinguish Ane Satyre.

decade, embraced the Protestant faith. As we have seen, such men generally enjoyed James's protection, a situation bound to exasperate Beaton and the religious conservatives. The reasons for the King's attitude are not altogether apparent. Whether he was genuinely sympathetic to reforming views (of whatever hue) or whether it simply suited him to 'divide and rule' an ideologically riven court is not clear. Certainly, the Crown's attitude towards the Church was at times highly ambivalent. James could exhibit a conventional enough piety, visiting and patronizing shrines, voicing his opposition to heresy and frequently expressing his determination to uphold the Catholic Church in his kingdom. However, this invariably corresponded with a desire for some favour from the Catholic powers and the coincidence, while not necessarily casting doubt upon James's sincerity, does illustrate a willingness to exploit situations to his own ends. For example, when petitioning the Pope (for the third time of asking) concerning Beaton's elevation to the Archbishopric of St Andrews, he helpfully reminded the Pontiff to consider how much easier it was to maintain a standing church than to raise a fallen.[14] However, although keen to represent himself as a stalwart guardian of the Catholic Church, James took steps, when appropriate, to prevent this jeopardizing Anglo-Scottish relations, periodically assuaging Henry VIII and giving him grounds for thinking that a Scottish schism was not so very far off. "We have presently directit...our traist and familiar servitor to pass to Rome", he wrote in 1536, "for such impretationis to be gottin as tuichis reformation of sic enormities as pertenis to the singular weill of this our realme, and abone all to the plesour of God, and in especiall anent the ordouring of the grete and mony possessiounis and temporal landis

---

14 L.& P. Henry VIII, XIII, ii, 417. Many more such examples could be cited.

geuin to the kyrk be our noble predecessouris".[15] Here, perhaps, we touch the heart of royal interest in the Church, or rather in its wealth, and it may well have been James's success in tapping this source of revenue without recourse to schism which prevented him from following the path urged on him by his uncle.[16] There are indications that James entertained a passing interest in Church reform - the initiation, for example, of a measure of monastic reform in the early 1530s - but circumstances and perhaps character dictated that his interest was largely focused on issues of finance and diplomacy.[17]

The reasons for James's ambivalence are arguably less important than the fact of its existence, for it undoubtedly encouraged the evangelicals at Court to believe that the King's support was there to be won. Lindsay's humanist critique of the Church was offered with such expectations. Similarly, Thomas Bellenden's request for English papers "touching the suppresion of religion, and gathering unto the Kinges majestie such other proffettes as before haithe been sp___, with the reformation of the mysdemeanours of the clergye"[18] was made with such an aim in mind. Another example of this type of 'persuader' is Sir John Borthwick, later accused of writing to James urging him to seize the wealth of the Church.[19] According to one contemporary

---

15 Hamilton Papers, I, p.37.

16 The most famous example of James's financial exploitation of the Church is the "Great Tax". Threatening the Pope with references to heresy, James extracted the right to tax the clergy, ostensibly for the purpose of endowing the College of Justice. Resisting an initial demand for £10,000 p.a., the clergy finally agreed to pay a lump sum of £72,000 over four years followed up by an annual contribution of £1,400. Collection of the tax proved troublesome and much of what was raised simply furnished James's extravagant architectural ambitions.

17 James V, Letters, p.187 & 202.

18 S.P. Henry VIII, V, iv, pp.169-70.

19 For the charges against Borthwick see the account of the reversal of his sentence in 1561, "The Ordour and Process deducit in the Declarator gevyn agains Schyr Jhon Borthwick of Cenerie, knycht, be

English commentator, the clergy were seriously alarmed at the prospect of a Henrician-type Reformation and, as these examples show, there were others equally hopeful of the same event.[20]

A further factor encouraging the debate was the lack of any sustained effort on the part of the authorities to eradicate heresy. There was periodic anti-heresy legislation (the repetition itself suggesting inefficacy), but the level of persecution was slight compared to elsewhere in Europe and, as Sanderson has shown, Beaton was obliged to limit his zeal for prosecution to the humbler ranks of society.[21] Nevertheless, in the Spring of 1540, Beaton felt able to launch an offensive against suspected heretics at Court, a move which must have alarmed Lindsay if, as seems likely, he had been involved only a few months earlier in the production of the Epiphany entertainment which, in Bellenden's words, "concluded vpon the Declaracion of the noughtines in Religion, the Presumpcion of busshops, the collucion of the spirituall Courts called the consistory courts in Scotland and mysusing of priests".[22] With only notes of the performance surviving, it is not possible fully to appreciate the play's message. Apparently it attacked ecclesiastical exploitation of the poor, the immorality of the religious houses and the lust of the clergy (and their habit of marrying their bastards to the aristocracy thereby debasing noble blood). It upheld the right of the Crown to Church land and wealth. Significantly, the play's argument was sanctioned by Scripture and its proposed reforms endorsed by the lay

---

umquhill Dauid, Cardinall", in Bannatyne Miscellany, I, pp.255-63. See also L.& P. Henry VIII, XV, no.714 based on these articles and incorporating parts of the defence Borthwick later made of his position as preserved by Foxe.

20 S.P. Henry VIII, V, iv, p.154.

21 Sanderson, Cardinal of Scotland, p.89.

22 S.P. Henry VIII, V, iv, pp.169-70.

estates in defiance of the clergy - a scenario which, as the audience would be aware, echoed recent events south of the border. Indeed, according to Bellenden, James himself viewed the play with reference to the English situation, threatening to send six of his proudest bishops "vnto his vncle of england", if they would not mend their ways. It has been suggested that the play "focused its attention upon the monarch, and tailored its demands for reform in the Erasmian terms most likely to find favour with James V".[23] While this is true, it is important to grasp that in this play, Lindsay - if we accept him as the author - went further than in his earlier poetry, bringing to the debate a political element hitherto missing from his critique. No longer the traditional poet-observer bringing abuses to the attention of the monarch, Lindsay now acted as an informed political commentator suggesting specific - and feasible - methods for the implementation of his ideas. With the example of England so close to hand and with English agents ready to assist Scottish malcontents, his criticisms were now palpably more dangerous to the established Church, something James's response to the play, if not entirely apocryphal, made chillingly clear.

Beaton's attack upon Borthwick in 1540 may have been partially motivated by recognition of the political element he too was introducing to the debate. Ultimately and fortuitously, Borthwick escaped to England and the whole affair may have been arranged as a sop to Beaton's mounting anger with the King's toleration, a sacrifice seen by James as preferable to the more widespread persecution of influential men which the Cardinal may have been soliciting. Only a few months before his accusation, Borthwick had been associated with Lindsay in entertaining Cromwell's ambassador, Ralph Sadler, and, as is

---

23 Walker, "Sir David Lindsay's *Satire*", p.13.

illustrated by the charges against him, he was deeply sympathetic to the Cromwellian reform programme. Concerned less with theology and more with the need for a Henrician-type Reformation, he urged casting off papal authority and transferring ecclesiastical wealth to the royal Treasury. Additionally, he attacked the monasteries and demanded a vernacular New Testament. Lindsay, it will be noticed, shared many of his views. His earlier works had shown sympathy for Borthwick's beliefs that "the Scottish nation was blinded and had not the true Catholic faith", that it was lawful for bishops to marry and that the temporal jurisdiction of the Church should be abolished. He would in time come to advocate others: namely, that the monasteries are "brothel houses, swine styes and dens of discord", ("Speir at the monks of balmirrynoch/ Gif lecherie be sin", he writes in Ane Satyre, 261-62), and the promotion of the vernacular New Testament. Borthwick's reported cry, "With what a filthy cankered stomach do these Romish swine note the New Testament with heresy?", has powerful links with the words of Flatterie in Ane Satyre when he too condemns the New Testament in such terms (1144-47). Lindsay did not go as far as Borthwick in demanding the complete disendowment of the Church (although the Epiphany play apparently agreed with his proposition that the Crown had a right to appropriate Church wealth) and, while he bitterly denounced the sale of pardons (The Monarche, 4792), the attack on their efficacy was couched in more ambiguous terms. As seen in Chapter Six, Lindsay lambasted the consistory courts, but he did not go as far as Borthwick in declaring that Canon law was not binding. Likewise, while Borthwick called for the religious life to be dissolved, Lindsay refers explicitly only to the nunneries. Borthwick was also charged with denying papal supremacy and although Lindsay again never explicitly endorsed this, his reference to the Pope as an antichrist together with implementation of the type of reform programme suggested in Ane Satyre

brought him perilously close to such a position. The points of similarity between Borthwick, Lindsay and those others involved in the Epiphany production illustrate that support for a Cromwellian-type settlement was more widespread, and for the Church more dangerous, than the isolated action against Borthwick might suggest.[24]

Lindsay was perhaps fortunate to escape the fate of Borthwick. A number of factors may have saved him: his relationship with the King, the dignity of his office, and perhaps too, James's determination not to give Beaton his head in any anti-heresy campaign. In 1541, however, the conservative faction gained the initiative and parliament passed a series of nine statutes emphasizing the need to honour the sacraments, the Virgin, the saints and images and the need to accept papal authority.[25] There was a measure designed to reform clerics "In habit and maneris to god and mann" and, significantly for the Reformers, acts prohibited private conventions and the unauthorized reading of Scripture and legislated against heretics holding public office. The shift in the balance of influence was probably partly due to the complicating factor of Anglo-Scottish relations for, in the last years of the reign, deteriorating relations with England offered religious conservatives the chance to cast reformers in an unpatriotic, even treasonable, light.

It was probably around this time that the short poem, Kitteis Confessioun, was written. This work appears in Charteris's general edition of Lindsay's works with the words, "Compylit (as is beleuit) be Schir Dauid Lindesay" which suggests that it was originally circulated

---

24 Interestingly, the notary instructed to extract the sasine of Borthwick's forfeited lands for his protocol book refused to do so. Unfortunately, the reason for his obstinacy is not recorded but it may be reflective of a more widespread support for Borthwick's position (A.D.C.P., p.504).

25 A.P.S., II, pp.370-71.

anonymously. Lindsay's most recent general editor agrees with his first concerning the poem's authorship, claiming that "the style, particularly of the last hundred lines, is unmistakeable".[26] Certainly, there is much which could have been penned by Lindsay. The satirical denunciation of the first curate's greed and lust and of the prurience and ignorance of the second accords well with Lindsay's Erasmian criticisms of clerical behaviour, while his depiction of the curate who considers all "Inglis Bukis" (Bibles) to be heresy prefigures the drama of Ane Satyre. The stress on the saving merits of Christ's blood is also typical of Lindsay as is the argument that the beliefs expressed in the poem are valid on account of their correspondence to the practices of the early Church, "the gude Kirk Primityue" (138). Kittie's assertion that pilgrimages lead only to immorality (79-80) is also found in Lindsay's other work (The Monarche, 2261-66) as is the call for the use of the vernacular. What distinguishes Kitteis Confessioun from Lindsay's other works is its ridicule of the way in which confession is heard and penance prescribed. Moreover, the author goes so far as to condemn the entire sacramental practice as "nocht ellis bot mennis law" (101). In decidedly Protestant fashion, he declares:

> To the greit God Omnipotent
> Confes thy Syn, and sore repent,
> And traist in Christ, as wrytis Paule,
> Quhilk sched his blude to saif thy Saule:
> For nane can the absolue bot he,
> Nor tak away thy syn frome the.
> (109-14)

The question of whether this is Lindsay's work must, however, remain open. Certainly, he never returned to an attack on auricular confession nor did he again question the sacrament of penance. Indeed, as we shall see, later works reveal his deep commitment to the doctrine

---

26 Hamer, Works, III, p.147.

of salvation through works. It could perhaps be argued that in a period of intense religious uncertainty, the sentiments expressed in Kitteis Confessioun represent only a temporary position. However, two other points may be significant. The first of these is the curate's question concerning Kittie's master's opinion of the King. Hostility towards the Crown is taken almost as a prerequisite for Reformed opinion. This was not really Lindsay's position, for while he could be critical of James, in particular of his ecclesiastical patronage, he always remained hopeful that he might be persuaded to adopt reform-type policies. It is hard to accept that Lindsay, bent on poetic persuasion as he was, would have made this connection between reform and out-and-out antagonism towards the monarch. The second point concerns the author's description of the Pope as the Antichrist (108). As discussed in detail below, Lindsay never refers to the Pope as *the* Antichrist, but as one antichrist amongst many. Moreover, if the poem were written sometime before the end of 1542 (as the reference to the King suggests), it would represent a surprizingly early appearance of the antichrist idea in Lindsay's work. His most likely source was John Knox who, even if he did not introduce Lindsay to such ideas for the very first time, does appear to have exerted a decisive influence over his thinking on the matter. As Lindsay did not hear Knox on the antichrist until 1547, his authorship of Kitteis Confessioun becomes problematic. In short, while the claim that Lindsay wrote Kitteis Confessioun is persuasive, there is sufficient doubt for it to be viewed only with extreme care and we ought not accord it great weight in any analysis of Lindsay's religious position. However, although Lindsay's authorship is open to question, the poem nevertheless sheds interesting light upon ideas in the pre-Reformation period for, if a hand other than Lindsay's wrote Kitteis Confessioun, it suggests that many of the latter's beliefs and sympathies were echoed within the

country. The poem points also to a committed, even reckless, attachment to out-and-out Protestant ideas which must have existed - at least in patches - during this period.

Following the death of James V in 1542, the religious situation altered with Arran's assumption of the governorship, his decision to reverse the direction of foreign policy and to allow a measure of religious reform. The early months of the Regency administration have been more fully treated in an earlier chapter. For Lindsay, their most significant aspects comprised the legislation authorizing the reading of vernacular Scripture, a further visit to England and, finally, the ostracization occasioned by Arran's reconciliation with Beaton and the repudiation of the Treaties of Greenwich.

It is almost certain that Lindsay attended the 1543 parliament which ratified Arran's governorship, reversed the attainder on the Douglases and authorized the reading of "the haly write baith the new testament and the auld in the vulgar toung in Inglis or scottis".[27] The latter issue was becoming an increasing concern of Lindsay and he must have viewed the passage of the relevant legislation with approval. One of those sponsoring the bill was Henry Balnaves who had been with Bellenden when the latter requested details of the English reformation and, for the evangelical Protestants at Court, it must have seemed as if a Henrician-type settlement, one enacted through the estates and overriding clerical opposition - just as played out on stage three years earlier - was now a real possibility. Indeed, with the death of James V and the loss of potential royal patronage, this would seem to represent the surest, perhaps the only, way of implementing any reform programme. Too much, however, still rested with the political will of the Governor. His rapprochement with Beaton put an end to the hopes of

---

27 A.P.S., II, p.415.

the Reformers and by December 1543 parliament was calling for the implementation of the anti-heresy legislation. Nevertheless, this brief period of ascendancy was probably inspirational for the Reformers. Not only did it facilitate association with more radical Protestant preachers such as John Rough but, above all, it suggested what could be accomplished in favourable circumstances. In addition, the legislation of 1543 appears to have initiated a wave of enthusiasm for Scripture reading. "Then mycht have bene sein the Byble lying almaist upoun everie gentilmanis table", declared Knox, although even he was obliged to acknowledge that some of this "was done of many to maik courte thairby".[28] This may have partly been the consequence of mounting apprehension concerning a popular enthusiasm which could be readily perceived as an instrument of social subversion. This is supported by the 1543 Act which sanctioned only the possession and reading of Scripture and reaffirmed government opposition to disputation and heresy as proscribed by earlier legislation. The scriptural education of such as Kittie was an alarming prospect within a society regulated by values of order and hierarchy. Henry VIII's famous Act for Advancement of True Religion (1543), effectively limiting access to Scripture to an upper-class, male élite, illustrates the normal attitude of sixteenth century governments.

Another important influence upon Lindsay during this period was the action, military and evangelical, of the English government in Scotland during the invasions of 1543-50. Both The Tragedie of the Cardinal and The Monarche reveal his anguish at the miseries inflicted upon his country, miseries he might well have experienced first-hand. An English base was established at Broughty, some twenty miles from Cupar, while East Lothian - and Haddington in particular - was the

---

28 Knox, Works, I, p.100-01.

scene of much destructive action. Furthermore, although Fife escaped relatively lightly, many of its inhabitants were involved in the conflict and, with Lindsay spending much more of his time at the Mount, he would have been in closer contact with such men.[29] The campaign against Scotland was not waged in the field alone. As we have seen, English military action was accompanied by propaganda intended to convince the obstinate Scots of the folly of sustained opposition. The return of George Wishart in 1544 can probably be seen as another instance of English ideological intervention in Scotland. Arriving via England from Germany and Switzerland, Wishart offered a rallying point for Protestant evangelism. His charismatic personality, energetic proselytising and articulate message promised potential leadership and cohesion to the scattered, disparate Protestant groups within Scotland. Wishart's theology derived from Zürich rather than Wittenberg (in 1536 he had completed an English translation of the First Helvetic Confession of Faith, published c.1548) and his presence in Scotland indicates the increasing importance of Zwinglianism in the Scottish Reformation.[30] In the course of the 1540s, official denunciations of sacramentarianism became more common, a fact which also suggests that the heresy was becoming increasingly widespread.[31] There were also sporadic outbursts of iconoclasm, a practice against which the Government had attempted to legislate in 1541. Some of these may have been economically rather than religiously motivated, but others do

---

29 Pitscottie, Chronicles, II, p.37. Pitscottie states that amongst those who set off from Fife on the 1545 campaign which culminated with the Battle of Ancrum Moor were, 'my lord Lyndsayis servandis kin and friendis'.

30 Locher, Zwingli's Thought, p.371.

31 A.D.C.P., p.528 (1543), R.P.C., I, p.63 (1547) Patrick, Statutes, p.123 (1549). Legislation of 1541 commanded that the sacraments were to be honoured which may be a response to simple irreverence but may also suggest a rising incidence of sacramentarianism (A.P.S., II, p.370).

appear to have been inspired by genuine spiritual outrage.[32] As noted above, Lindsay had, since the late 1520s, condemned the practice of "Prayand to grawin Ymagis" (The Complaynt, 422) and, possibly influenced by the spirit of Wishart if not the man himself, he elaborated upon this at length in The Monarche. While acknowledging that images can help convey the message of the Gospel to illiterate minds, he utterly condemns prayer to them as "manyfest Idoltrye" (2395). We do not know whether Lindsay ever heard Wishart but, given that the preacher spent the autumn of 1545 in Dundee and followed this up with visits to East Lothian, he may well have done.[33] He must at least have heard of his activities and his evangelical style and open-air sermons may have influenced Lindsay's own decision to address himself to a wider audience.

When brought to trial in St Andrews in 1546, the most consistent and striking feature of Wishart's defence was his insistence that he believed only in the Word of God as set out in Scripture and that his views constituted no more than a commitment to Scriptural precepts.[34] As we have seen, Lindsay's earlier works reveal a tentative attachment to the idea of *scriptura sola*. This is more pronounced in The Monarche, but whether this was a consequence of exposure to Wishart's preaching we can not tell. Like Wishart, Lindsay also challenged the Church's rulings on dietary abstinences (although this was not exclusively a Zwinglian nor even a Protestant position), but it is probably unrealistic to look for any specific Wishart inspired passages in his work. Not only would this have invited immediate suspicion and

32 Cowan, The Scottish Reformation, pp.100-101; c.f. Shaw, "Zwinglian Influences", pp.122-23.

33 For details of Wishart's activities in Scotland, see: Sanderson, Cardinal of Scotland, pp.206-12.

34 Knox, Works, I, pp.155-67, for a modern account of Wishart's trial, see: Sanderson, Cardinal of Scotland, pp.214-18.

probable execution, but Lindsay was still in the process of feeling his way cautiously towards religious understanding.

One result of Wishart's execution was to illustrate - and not just to Lindsay - that the Church, working in harness with the secular administration, possessed the means to stifle the religious debate in brutal fashion. Indeed, it has been argued that Beaton, at this stage politically beleaguered, may have forced the trial specifically to demonstrate his authority.[35] Such a course of action totally horrified Lindsay. In The Tragedie of the Cardinal, he draws attention to Beaton's persecution of heretics. Emphasizing his brutal and bloody character, the Cardinal describes how he would have:

> ...distroyit mony vther;
> Sum with the fyre, sum with the sword and knyfe;
> In speciale mony gentyll men of fyfe,
> And purposit tyll put to gret Torment
> All fauoraris of the auld and new Testament.
> (213-17)

In fact, Lindsay's words reveal more about perceptions of the Cardinal - and perhaps the fears of the local community - than the actual programme of persecution, for apart from Wishart's execution in St Andrews, Fife seems to have produced few of Beaton's Protestant martyrs.[36] Significantly, Lindsay uses a similar turn of phrase in The Monarche when discussing the damnation of those who persecuted:

> ...Prophetis and Prechouris,
> Sum with the fyre, sum with the sworde,
> Quhilk plainly prechit Goddis worde.
> (5807-09)

Although these lines can be taken to refer to the early martyrs of the Christian Church, Lindsay would be confident that, for his readers, such words would evoke the memory of more recent executions. It is,

---

35 Sanderson, Cardinal of Scotland, p.216.

36 Sanderson's list of 174 suspected heretics mentions only one executed in Fife - a reference to an unnamed man being burnt at Cupar in 1539 (ibid., p.284).

moreover, through The Monarche that Lindsay presents a strongly worded appeal for mercy towards heretics, offering an interesting account of how he considered heresy might best be dealt with (2541-80). Thus, a brother who "offends" should first be discretely corrected; if necessary a few others must be told; finally, if he does not reform, he is to be "declare[d]...to the congragatioun". As a final resort, the unrepentant are to be excommunicated and banished. Lindsay vigorously denounces those who adopt a more oppressive approach, "Prouocand princis to shed saikles blude". The use of the word "saikles" (innocent) forcibly illustrates his sympathy with those who had suffered persecution. Lindsay goes on to declare:

> For Christis floke, without malyce or yre,
> Conuertit fragyll faltouris, I conclude,
> Be Goddis worde, withouttin sweird or fyre.
> (2546-48)

Significantly, it is "Goddis worde" which converts the "fragyll faltouris" rather than persecution by the authorities. Moreover, the conversion is effected by "Christis floke". There is perhaps a deliberate ambiguity here, for with the use of the past tense the phrase could be taken to refer to the Apostles or it could also refer to the broader church of all believers. Accepting such an interpretation, Lindsay posits a situation challenging not only the policies of persecution but also the Church's monopoly over spiritual instruction, suggesting a much greater lay involvement. In all, the passage constitutes a very bold criticism of the Church's response to heresy, especially given the fact that it was addressed to the two men, the representatives of both secular and spiritual authority, in whose hands the fate of heretics jointly lay.

Lindsay's increasing sympathy with confessed Protestants can also be seen during the period of Beaton's murder and the subsequent siege of St Andrews Castle, details of which can be found in Chapter Three.

The former episode provided Lindsay with material for his poem, The Tragedie of the Cardinal. Here, he utilizes the traditional "fall-of-princes" framework to emphasize Beaton's arrogance and worldly ambition. Like his earlier creation, the Papyngo, Beaton is driven to climb ever higher, his "pridefull hart...nocht content at all", until finally he is brought low (62). The appearance of the Cardinal's ghost to relate this tale also allows Lindsay to incorporate powerful pleas for reform addressed to both prelates and princes. In keeping with the style of the poem as moral exemplar the cry is for an essentially ethical reformation. Lindsay urges prelates to attend to the souls in their cure, to preach "the auld and new testament", to leave off harlotry, gaming and greed (318). As in The Complaynt and The Testament of the Papyngo, he pleads with princes to guarantee the learning and virtue of those they nominate to benefices:

> Quharefor I counsayle eueryilk christinit kyng
> With in his realme mak Reformatioun,
> And suffer no mo Rebaldis for to ryng
> Abufe Christis trew Congregatioun.
> (421-24)

The poem is interesting also for the light it sheds upon Lindsay's attitude towards the Cardinal's assassins and, by implication perhaps, towards the Castilians as a whole. In describing the murder, Lindsay names no names and, apart from conveying the suddenness of the attack, provides no details. The language he employs, however, engenders a certain moral ambivalence - even suggesting approbation of the assassins' actions. The choice of this particular poetic framework allows Lindsay to present the assassination as the destruction of a tyrant-figure, the inevitable fall of overweening pride and ambition - Beaton attributes his death to "the hie power Divine", a process which, like the defeat of Goliath, "culd not be troch mortal mannis ingyne" (139 & 140). In this way, Lindsay appears to absolve the murderers of moral responsibility for the deed, seeing them as agents of a form of

divinely inspired tyrannicide.[37] The emphasis on hubris and nemesis inherent in Lindsay's chosen literary genre effectively draw attention away from this detail. However, while others might be struck by this sense of fatalism - or perhaps by Lindsay's robust scandal-mongering - the Castilians and their sympathizers (if they read the work) can not have failed to appreciate this potentially subversive interpretation of their actions.

And yet, despite an apparent sympathy with the Castilians, the rousing cry delivered by Lindsay in this poem is, in fact, for a very conservative type of reformation, a moral regeneration along Erasmian lines. The attack on Beaton, although vicious, is extremely orthodox in character. This may be explained by the circumstances surrounding the poem's composition. Although it is not known exactly when it was written or published, the reference to Beaton lying unburied for over seven months, gives us an earliest possible date of January 1547 and, given that the work depends in part on its topicality, a significantly later date seems unlikely.[38] It may be that in the volatile aftermath of the assassination, Lindsay only felt safe with a reversion to the type of poetry he had written in the 1530s. Perhaps too, his traditional technique was intended as a deliberate rejection of the confrontational approach adopted by those holed up in the besieged Castle. Clinging to the ideals and aspirations he had embraced in the previous decade, Lindsay provided a reminder that there were other paths to reform. Despite his subtle endorsement of Beaton's murder, the idea of resistance to monarchical or even quasi-monarchical

---

37 As personal motives appeared to have played a significant role in the murder, Lindsay's interpretation is more interesting than accurate.

38 Hamer speculates that it was printed by John Scot in March 1547 and that as a result his arrest was sought by the authorities. He also thinks that this poem was burnt by the ecclesiastical authorities in 1549 (Works, III, p.152).

authority clearly offended Lindsay's political and religious sensibilities:

> Paul biddis ws be obedient
> To Kyngis as the most excellent.
> (The Monarche, 4593-94)

Admittedly, this citation of that much used text, Romans 13, occurs in a somewhat different context (the requirement for popes to submit to secular authority), but it does seem to express Lindsay's essential position. Certainly, faced with circumstances offering little promise of reform, he could only counsel patience. It could perhaps be argued that such opposition to resistance is in itself evidence of Lindsay's attachment to a Lutheran position. However, Luther's own attitude to the problem changed after about 1530 and many Reformers were forced to confront the problem of resistance.[39] Writing shortly after he himself had taken up arms against the Governor, Balnaves offers a confused prospective on the issue. He tells men to "Giue to thy prince and superiour his duetie; or whatever he chargeth...concerning temporall riches", to "Disobey him not; howbeit he bee evill and doe thee wrong", but qualifies this with the claim that obedience is God's will "in all things not repugning his command".[40] The great importance Balnaves attaches to social order, stability and hierarchy inhibits his words if not his actions. While he may not have heeded his own advice to "Be not a perturber of the commoun weale", it probably struck more of a chord with Lindsay.

As described in Chapter Three, following his deputation to the Castle in an official capacity, Lindsay maintained informal links with

---

39 Cynthia Grant Shoenberger, "The Development of the Lutheran Theory of Resistance: 1523-1530", Sixteenth Century Journal, VIII, (1977) pp.61-76. See also, Skinner, Foundations, II, pp.73-74 & 199-207.

40 This is from Balnaves's Treatise on Justification, (Knox, Works, III, pp.405-542, p.540) which he wrote in 1548 while in prison. Although probably familiar with many of Balnaves's ideas, Lindsay would not have known his treatise which was not printed until 1584.

the Castilians to the point of being present at the consultation between Balnaves and Rough which resulted in Knox's call to the ministry. For his inaugural sermon, Knox took as his text the seventh chapter of the book of Daniel (which describes the prophet's vision of the four beasts or kingdoms) and described how "in the destructioun whairof, rase up that last Beast...the Romane Church".[41] In his sermon, Knox first showed God's love towards his Church; then, after discussion of the four empires, he defended the "trew kirk" which, as that built upon the Word of God, could not err. He then went on to describe the papacy as antichrist (that is to say, "One contrare to Christ"), justifying this assertion with an exposition of the false teaching of the Catholic Church: the doctrine of good works, pilgrimages, pardons, clerical celibacy, fasting, purgatory and the Mass. Although, as we shall see, The Monarche makes much of Daniel's dream, it does not represent such a fundamental 'blow to the root'. Lindsay carefully denies the doctrine of Justification *sola fides*; he makes no mention of the Mass and his attitude to Purgatory is considerably more ambiguous than Knox's unequivocal rejection. However, he did agree with Knox on the question of pilgrimages, fasting and clerical celibacy and he too branded the Pope an antichrist. (Like Knox at this stage, he used the term to refer to one - of several - who was inimical to the teachings of Christ.) Such a comparison of Knox's sermon and The Monarche illustrates the ideological links which existed between Lindsay and the Castilians. He clearly had some sympathy for a group which included men such as Balnaves and Rough, whom he would have known at Court, together with others, the Leslies and Kirkcaldys, who were familiar figures in the local community. However, he certainly did not share their Reformed faith. Such ideological overlap as there

---

41 The text of his sermon is given in: Knox, Works, I, pp.189-92.

was only serves to suggest that religious belief at this point was often, like Lindsay's, idiosyncratic, personal and inimical to neat theological classification. The respective actions of Lindsay and Knox reveal another crucial difference between the two. While the latter committed himself to the Castilians, besieged and awaiting foreign aid, Lindsay kept aloof, clinging to a vision of reform enacted through persuasion. With reform and reconciliation as opposed to schism and confrontation on his personal agenda, Lindsay was perhaps perceived as a less dangerous threat to the establishment and hence was allowed his freedom of action and expression. This he put to good effect, turning once more to poetry in order to attain his aims. Hence, the later years of his life saw the composition of Ane Satyre and The Monarche.

Before re-entering the religious debate, Lindsay undertook an official embassy to Protestant Denmark (December 1548 to Spring 1549). This journey may also have helped mould his religious beliefs although the links between the two countries probably ensured that many Scots were familiar enough anyway with the Danish situation.[42] The Lutheran Church in Denmark, as established by parliament in 1536, placed great stress upon preaching and the proper use of tithes. Bishops and superintendants exercised no temporal authority and ultimate control rested with the Crown.[43] Such ideas would undoubtedly have appealed to Lindsay, but to what extent he was influenced by any contact with the Danish Church is impossible to tell. The same is true with regard to possible communication with individuals. There were in Denmark significant numbers of Scots amongst whom were several noted religious exiles. These included John MacAlpine also known as Maccabeus, a

---

42 G. Donalson, "The Example of Denmark in the Scottish Reformation", Scottish Church History (Edinburgh, 1985) pp.60-70, pp.63-64.

43 Ibid., pp.62-63.

Dominican friar of Perth.[44] Obliged to flee Scotland in 1534, he spent some time in England where he wrote in defence of clerical marriage and was Bishop Shaxton's staunch ally in imposing the vernacular Bible in Salisbury (two ideas important to Lindsay's own thinking). Arriving in Denmark via Wittenberg, he subsequently became a professor of theology at Copenhagen university. Another exile was John Gau, author of The Richt Vay to the Kingdom of Heuine (1533), essentially a translation of a work by the Danish Lutheran, Christiern Pedersen. It is not certain whether Lindsay met such men, but it seems that Maccabeus was sufficiently interested in Lindsay and his work for his name to be used in the 1554 edition of The Monarche (a ploy to protect the printer from censorship legislation passed in 1552).[45] With so little known regarding Lindsay's contacts in Denmark, it is almost impossible to assess the influence the trip had. It may be, however, that the events of the past two decades had been sufficient in themselves to inspire Lindsay's return to the religious fray.

---

44 For details of Maccabeus's career, see: Durkan, "Scottish Evangelicals", pp.139-40 & 151-52.

45 A.P.S., II, p.488-89.

Chapter Nine

Returning to the Fray: Politics and Prophecy

Some two decades after The Testament of the Papyngo's savage satire of the Church, Lindsay made a sensational return to the religious fray. Given increased pressure on heretics and government action such as the 1552 legislation prohibiting publication of subversive literature, of "Bukis, ballatis, fangis, blasphematiounis rymes or Tragedies outher in latine or Inglis toung", there must have been some fairly compelling motivation for this change in direction.[1] While his experiences in the intervening period contributed to the development of his thought, we can only guess at the reasons why Lindsay chose to take up his pen at this precise point. Emboldened in part by the relief of domestic political tension arising from the end of eight years of intermittent Anglo-Scottish warfare, he was probably also encouraged by the Church's own initiative "to restore tranquillity and preserve complete unity".[2] The Church Councils of 1549, 1552 and later of 1559 highlighted many of the abuses which Lindsay himself so vehemently criticized and this may have led him to envisage a sympathetic audience for his works, confirming him in the belief that persuasion and reform still remained viable options. Moreover, he may have taken his appointment to the Danish embassy as a sign of renewed official favour and consequently have resolved to grasp the opportunity of persuading the Governor and his half-brother as, in a previous decade, he had attempted to persuade the King. As we have seen, his later works were addressed to a much broader, more socially diverse audience than the court-based poems he had hitherto written. This suggests that Lindsay's purpose had taken on a more evangelical cast. Inspired

1 A.P.S., II, pp.488-89.

2 Patrick, Statutes, 'Preamble to the Statutes of 1549', p.84.

perhaps by the preaching mission of George Wishart, he appears determined to convey his message to as large an audience as possible. Underlying this evangelical imperative was Lindsay's developing interest in the idea of the apocalypse. Given his conviction that world history was reaching its conclusion, the need to play an active role in the drama became increasingly urgent. The fray to which Lindsay returned in the 1550s was no longer an intellectual debate conducted in the forum of the Court, but a conflict between the forces of good and evil played out on a grand cosmological scale.

I

Lindsay's later works illustrate the development of his thought in a number of directions. Not only does his belief in the imminent End lend his work a prophetic quality, but the political element of his critique (possibly first introduced in the Epiphany drama) becomes much more pronounced. However, there is also much reiteration of earlier themes and ideas, particularly regarding the moral standards of churchmen. For example, the corruption of the Church by Sensuality, described in The Testament of the Papyngo, is reworked in The Monarche (4419-22), while in Ane Satyre, this ungodly union is presented in dramatic form with Spiritualitie welcoming the wanton Dame (4741-44). Similarly, Lindsay also transfers ideas - practically verbatim - from Ane Satyre to The Monarche.[3] Given that he was probably engaged upon both works at about the same time, such duplication should not surprise us. It denotes not so much the limitations of Lindsay's imagination as the force of his indignation, underscoring those issues about which he was particularly concerned.

---

3 E.g.: Ane Satyre, 2723-37 / The Monarche, 4709-32.
Ane Satyre, 2745-50 / The Monarche, 4689-94.
Ane Satyre, 2755-67 / The Monarche, 4697-4708.

Although it would be wrong to consider Lindsay a straightforward Catholic reformer, his attitude to the Church during this period retained a strong moralizing, Erasmian element and blistering criticism of the personal standards of churchmen continue to be an essential feature of his work. Lust, greed, ignorance and worldly ambition are again his principal targets. In Ane Satyre, for example, John the Commonweal denounces churchmen in familiar terms:

> As for our reverent fathers of Spiritualitie,
> Thay ar led be Couetice and cairles Sensualitie
> (2446-47)

The examination of Spiritualitie, the Abbot and the Parson succinctly conveys the extent of their moral degeneracy. Thus Spiritualitie prides himself upon exacting his financial dues and acting in all respects like a temporal lord - with the important exception that, as he can not marry, he has several mistresses (3346-71). The Abbot congratulates himself upon keeping his monks in luxury and upon providing for his paramours and bastards (3394-3409), while the Parson boasts of his skill at games and of his fine attire (3411-19). In particular, he flaunts his "round bonats...now four nuickit" (3416). This comment was particularly topical as only three years previously the Provincial Council, attempting to eradicate such vanity, had stipulated that round birettas should be worn.[4] Similarly, while the Council had decreed that wool - not silk - was to be worn by clerics, Lindsay's Prioress wears a silk kirtle beneath her habit (3651-56).[5] The specificity of these jokes illustrates that the more sophisticated approach to socio-economic problems which we saw as typical of Ane Satyre was also turned upon the affairs of the Church. Of course, as with the socio-economic analysis examined in Chapter Six, this more

---

4 Patrick, Statutes, no.176.

5 Ibid., no.180.

specific commentary stands alongside or even within a more generalized comment on universal ethics. For example, during the examination of the Parson, the cleric goes so far as to argue that the deadly sins are not sins at all but virtues, a scene which deftly exposes a shocking combination of ignorance and depravity.

In the first part of Ane Satyre of the Thrie Estatis, it is the voracious sexual appetite of the clergy which is most vigorously satirized. Indeed, it is notable that in this part of the play, the clergy are criticized almost exclusively for their sexual laxity. This is in part the consequence of Lindsay's chosen allegory, for whilst in broad terms Dame Sensualitie symbolizes the subjugation of reason to appetite, her characterization as the whorish handmaiden of Venus means that sexual immorality assumes centre stage during that part of the play in which she appears. The attack on the sexual behaviour of the clergy may have been dictated, not only by the delineation of Sensualitie, but also by the need to engage the attention of the audience. We might expect sex to guarantee popular appeal and, indeed, Lindsay confirms this by rehearsing the theme of the promiscuous cleric who need never marry in the Cupar Banns, a short piece specifically designed to arouse local interest in the production.[6] However, following the expulsion of Dame Sensualitie, there is much less emphasis upon sexual sin - indeed upon the whole ethical dimension - and attention turns instead to matters more suited to the intervention of the three estates. Having made his essentially Erasmian plea for individual moral rectitude, Lindsay can do little else to develop the

---

6 This theme appears to have been popular. See for example, the song, The Paip, that Pagane full of Pryde in A. F. Mitchell, ed., A Compendious book of Godly and Spiritual Songs commonly known as the Gude and Godlie Ballatis, (S.T.S., 1897) pp.204-07, 43-46. It should be noted, however, that these songs, collected sometime before 1560 by James and John Wedderburn of Dundee, were published in this form only after 1565. A copy of the 1565 edition is to be published by S.T.S., edited by Alisdair MacDonald.

theme further and in the remainder of the play it is much less prominent. The stereotypical randy cleric, for example, occurs much less frequently in Lindsay's final work. One of his few appearances in The Monarche is in a passage condemning those clerics who "lyke Rammis in to thair rage,/ Unpissillit rynnis amang the yowis" - behaviour which is used by Lindsay not merely to make the moral point but specifically to support the principle of clerical marriage (4706-07). An almost identical passage appears in Ane Satyre and it is interesting to see a similar argument in the popular song, God send everie Priest ane wyfe (And everie Nunne ane man).[7] Like Lindsay, this song refers to the example of the early Church and the marriage of St Peter. Clerical marriage, it is argued, will prevent abuses arising from the need to provide for whores and bastards. With regard to the nuns here mentioned, Lindsay too advocates marriage in preference to the religious life. In Ane Satyre, the Prioress curses her friends whose greed compelled her to take the veil and seek material advancement. She herself considers the religious life unnecessary for women and should have preferred honest matrimony:

> Mariage be my opinioun,
> It is better Religioun
> As to be freir or Nun.
> (3672-74)

Preference for a Christian marriage above communal celibacy - particularly for women - was a characteristic feature of Protestant thinking and, as this shows, it was one to which Lindsay was attracted. As we have seen, Lindsay had advocated clerical marriage since the 1530s. However, the passing of legislation supporting such action in Ane Satyre - the introduction of a recognizably realistic programme for

---

7 Cf. Ane Satyre, 2755-66 & The Monarche, 4697-708, see also, The Gude and Godlie Ballatis, pp.188-89.

the implementation of specific proposals - represents an important development in his thinking.

Ane Satyre and The Monarche both illustrate Lindsay's continued campaign against clerical avarice and the Church's economic exploitation of the poor. Again the depth of Lindsay's anger is suggested by his repetition.[8] For example, John's story (vindicated by the experiences of the Pauper) of a rapacious vicar who, as each member of a family dies, claims his mortuary dues and leaves the orphaned children destitute, is repeated almost verbatim in The Monarche. Such behaviour appears to have aroused a greater sense of outrage than did sexual immorality and, when the Church addressed the question of death duties in 1559, it was in part "to put an end to the clamour and murmurs of grumblers at morturies".[9] What is arguably Lindsay's most savage description of the clergy is, therefore, made in this particular context:

> Christ did command Peter to feid his scheip,
> And so he did feid thame full tenderlye.
> Off that command thay take bot lytill keip,
> Bot Christis scheip thay spolye petuouslye,
> And with the woll thay cleith thame curiouslye.
> Lyk gormand wolfis, thay tak of thame thare fude,
> Thai eit thair flesche, & drynkis boith mylk & blude.
> (The Monarche, 4799-805.)

This 'double-image' of the clergy as on the one hand removers of food and clothing in the form of mortuary dues and on the other as wolves literally devouring the flock of Christ is brutally effective. In Ane Satyre, Lindsay goes beyond a moral castigation of avarice, making mortuary dues the subject of specific attack and, moreover, of specific parliamentary legislation decreeing the abolition of corspresent, cow and upmost cloth. In this way, Lindsay's thinking again extends the simple description of abuse and concomitant call for moral reform to

---

8 E.g. Ane Satyre, 2723-34 reappears in The Monarche, 4689-94.

9 Patrick, Statutes, no.281.

encompass a more specific and coercive means of dealing with the problem.

The moral failings here discussed must, Lindsay argues, be jettisoned in favour of the exercise of 'true vocation'. This plea is reiterated in both Ane Satyre and The Monarche. In the former, Spiritualitie is revealed as woefully ignorant of his vocation. Unlearned, if not actually illiterate, he even confesses not to have read the New Testament (2919-22) and, emphasizing his irreligiosity, goes so far as to lament the birth of St Paul (2015-16). For Lindsay, as we have seen, the ignorance of the clergy consisted in ignorance of the Word of God, of their duty to promote that Word and to act in accordance with it. From Pope to Parson, churchmen are condemned for their worldliness, for their failure to preach and for the spiritual neglect of the population:[10]

> Christ instructed disciples only to preach
> None vther office he to thame gaif.
> He did nocht bid thame seik nor craif
> Cors presentis, nor offerandis,
> Nor gett Lordschipis of temporall landis.
> (The Monarche, 4477-80)

In The Monarche, Lindsay goes so far as to claim that preaching ability should be seen as the precondition of "Spiritual Auctoritie" (4839). He also claims that the reluctance of prelates to preach was the reason "the peple now abhor thame" (4494). This was throwing down the gauntlet to many sixteenth century churchmen who did not themselves undertake this priestly function. Lindsay himself makes this point in Ane Satyre when the Poor Man exclaims:

> Sir God nor I be stickit with ane knyfe.
> Gif ever Persoun preichit in all his lyfe.
> (2938-9)

His satire was not without foundation. A lack of learning and failure to preach was recognized by the three Provincial Councils, all of which

10 See also: The Monarche, 4438-47 & 4687-94, Ane Satyre, 2745-50.

prescribed measures to deal with the situation. A series of acts was passed aimed at raising the intellectual standards of the clergy at all levels and stress was laid upon the necessity of preaching "seing that the preaching of the Gospel is no less necessary to Christian commonwealth than lecturing thereon".[11] This particular statute went on to state that preaching was "the principal duty of the bishops", but in recognition of the existing situation, permitted prelates to entrust the duty to "fit persons". Ten years later, however, the Council insisted that bishops preach in person at least four times a year, only elderly churchmen over the age of fifty and "not hitherto...accustomed to preach" being allowed to delegate the responsibility.[12] Such a solution had been suggested by Lindsay in The Monarche when he argued that if, bishops could not fulfil this responsibility, they should pay for a suffragan until their death enabled the appointment of "ane perfyte precheour" (4861). A concern about preaching was shared by Catholic reformers, Protestant evangelicals and those - like Lindsay - whose religious sympathies can not be so easily defined.[13] The coincidence between the solutions proposed by Lindsay and the Church authorities points to a common approach amongst those who addressed the problem and warns us against insisting on too rigid a confessional demarcation during this period.

Although Lindsay's enthusiasm for preaching was shared by many within the ecclesiastical hierarchy, it does seem as if his conception of the sermon and its importance for the spiritual life became, to some extent, informed by Protestant thinking on the matter. In emphasizing

---

11 Patrick, Statutes, no.253.

12 Ibid., nos.274-75.

13 Lack of preaching was one of the complaints made by John Gau in his 'Epistle to the Noble Lords and Barons of Scotland', appended to his book, The Richt Vay to the Kingdom of Heuine, pp.104-05.

the importance of preaching, the Provincial Council of 1549 described how preachers were to explain the true use of the Church's ceremonies and to prohibit, confute and denounce false opinion.[14] Preaching viewed in this way is essentially a didactic action with true spiritual knowledge of Christ being fully obtained through the agency of the Sacraments. For Protestants, however, preaching was of central importance; the Word of God was viewed as a spiritual force in which and through which the Holy Spirit worked. As Luther expressed it, "Christ can not be known except through his word".[15] To use an oft cited metaphor, the pulpit rather than the altar assumed centre stage in the spiritual life. This approach engaged Lindsay's sympathy and the pulpit was of sufficient importance to him to warrant its appearance in Ane Satyre along with "ane schort sermon" to "schaw the word of God vnfeinyeitlie" (3441 & 42). (Although, as we shall see, the sermon preached was a very model of Catholic orthodoxy.)

With respect to this conceptualization of the Word, the characterization of Veritie becomes extremely significant. Veritie is not simply to be equated with the virtue of that name, but also with a scripture-based evangelism - the Word of God located in Scripture. Her close association with the New Testament and her own speech serve to underscore this allegorical meaning. Defending the Testament she carries, Veritie declares:

> Forsuith my friend ye have ane wrang iudgement,
> For in this Buik thair is na heresie:
> Bot our Christs word, baith dulce and redolent,
> Ane springing well of sinceir veritie.
> (1148-51)

---

14 Patrick, Statutes, no.192.

15 For a discussion of Lutheran thinking, see: Althaus, The Theology of Martin Luther, pp.35-39. Zwingli adopted a somewhat different approach seeing the Word bound to the Spirit but arguing that the Word did not necessarily guarantee the Spirit, (Locher, Zwingli's Thought, p.13).

Lindsay's use of direct language, "the plain 'godlie' rhetoric", serves to suggest that the Word of God she represents was indebted to Protestant thinking.[16] This covert association with Reformation thought is reinforced by the accusations of heresy hurled against her and by Veritie's own reference to her travels over "many stormie sey" (1118-19 & 1072). Indeed, it may not be too fanciful to suggest that Veritie's very performance on stage reflects the spiritual force of the spoken Word. Her participation in the action of the play - in the moral rehabilitation of Rex Humanitas and the work of the estates - illustrates its dynamic power, its capacity first to alter then to sustain lives.

The characterization of Veritie also has implications for the kingship of Rex Humanitas which she helps restore and sustain. Although Lindsay's belief that ecclesiastical reform should be undertaken by the King dates at least to the late 1520s, it is in his later works that it receives fullest expression. Both Ane Satyre and The Monarche were intended to awaken the potential power of the secular authorities to promote a programme of Church reform. Moreover, in these works, notably Ane Satyre, Lindsay offers a much more specific critique concerning the nature of royal intervention in Church affairs. The development in his thinking was undoubtedly shaped by his experience of Arran's tentative reform programme, by the English Reformation and possibly by his Danish visit. Of course, it had long been accepted that the King had a responsibility for the welfare of the Church. Such duties were invariably incorporated into traditional kingship literature and periodic legislation reaffirmed "that the honor and fredome of halikirk and priuilege grantit it thereto be obseruit".[17] Recast by the Reformers, this essentially protective

16 Kantrowitz, Dramatic Allegory, p.65.

17 A.P.S., II, p.294, (1525). The formula was not used on the occasion

partnership offered the prince a more significant role. In his 1523 treatise, On Temporal Authority, Luther (although despairing of the existence of such a paragon) placed the Church under the direct control of the godly prince, stressing his duty to foster and maintain true religion.[18] A Scottish example of this ideal is found in Henry Balnaves's treatise on Justification and, while Lindsay could not have known this particular work, he was probably well enough acquainted with the author's ideas. Balnaves's work expresses some of the traditional ideals of kingship - justice, wisdom and humility - in the language of a Protestant evangelical and it stresses the importance of Scripture which, like Veritie in Ane Satyre, should guide the prince's every action:

> Therefore, humblie and lowly submit thy selfe in the handes of thy God, and take thought of him, being gouerned by his Word. Begin at him, and set forth the true and perfite worshipping of God in thy kingdome. Restore the true, pure, and syncere Christian religion; abolish, destroye and put downe all false worshippinges and superstitions, contrare the Word of God...This is thy vocation, in the which thou shouldest walke and orderly proceed in guiding of thy people, as thou art taught by the Worde of God.[19]

Lindsay's work suggests a growing enthusiasm for this type of idea.[20] The image of the godly prince ruling in strict accordance with Scripture is evocatively conveyed when Divyne Counsel installs Veritie as one of Rex Humanitas's principal counsellors:

> Blist is the Realme that hes ane Prudent King,
> Quhilk dois delyte to heir the veritie,
> Punisching thame that plainlie dois maling,
> Contrair the Common-weill and equitie.
> (3780-83)

---

of every parliament, but for other examples during this period (1509-1552) see: pp.266-67, 282, 286, 301, 310, 341, 358 & 492.

18 Skinner, Foundations, II, pp.14-16.

19 Knox, Works, III, p.528.

20 This suggestion is put forward by Mason ("Kingship and Commonweal", pp.233-42).

Indeed, the realm has already begun to experience the benefits of this new evangelical government as Veritie, seizing the initiative, arranges for the installation of good and learned preachers (3155-60). As we shall see, the legislative action of Ane Satyre diminishes papal authority in Scotland almost out of existence and clearly the evangelical rule of Rex Humanitas is intended to be - like that in England and Denmark - one that brooks no external interference. Instructing Rex Humanitas to replace unworthy clerics with those who know their true vocation, Divyne Correctioun tells him:

> Ye ar the head sir of this congregatioun
> Preordinat be God omnipotent.
> (3329-30)

The changing character of the Church-Crown relationship is also suggested by the first act passed by the three estates:

> It is devysit be thir prudent Kingis,
> Correctioun and King Humanitie,
> That thair Leigis induring all thair Ringis,
> With the avyce of the estatis thrie,
> Sall manfullie defend and fortifie
> The Kirk of Christ and his Religioun,
> Without Dissimulance or hypocrisie:
> Vnder the paine of thair punitioun.
> (3791-800)

While this suggests the type of legislation traditionally passed in defence of 'haly kirk', the differences, although subtle, are instructive. First, however, we should note that the absence of any reference to Rome is not unusual for, apart from lavish praise of papal generosity connected with the endowment of the College of Justice, such phraseology was not typical.[21] Nevertheless, the traditional formula with its stress on the rights and privileges, immunities and freedoms, enjoyed by the Church and its personnel differs markedly from the simple defence of "The Kirk of Christ and his Religion". Indeed, given royal manipulation of ecclesiastical privileges and procedures,

---

21 A.P.S., II, p.335.

Lindsay's reference to hypocrisy and dissimulation becomes particularly pointed. Such a discussion of godly kingship was, however, at odds with the political realities of mid-sixteenth century Scotland and while Lindsay pinned his hopes on a monarchically led reform programme, his attitude to royal authority inhibited any response other than a stoic acceptance of the present situation:

> I traist to se gude reformatione
> From tyme we gett ane faithfull prudent king
> Quhilk knawis the trueth and his vocatione
> All Publicanis, I traist, he wyll doun thring,
> And wyll nocht suffer in his realme to ring
> Corrupit Scrybis, nor fals Pharisiens
> Agane the treuth quhilk planely doith maling:
> Tyll that kyng cum we mon tak paciens.
> (The Monarche, 2605-12)

Given Lindsay's commitment to the idea of sovereign authority and also his sympathy for a Lutheran-type understanding of the power of the Word, the iconography of Ane Satyre becomes particularly interesting and Veritie, inextricably associated with the Book she carries, assumes special symbolic significance. 'The Book' or Bible was widely employed in the Middle Ages as a symbol of learning and sanctity. During the Reformation, we find the image frequently re-appropriated by Protestants to signify the Word of God. Moreover, as such, the Book was often placed in the hands of the temporal ruler, thereby denoting headship of the Church and signalling a rejection of the interpretive and intercessory role of the Church. In this way, the image helped unite ecclesiastical and secular authority in the person of the godly monarch. The Bible was, therefore, an increasingly important feature of English Protestant royal iconography, emerging by the mid-sixteenth century as "the fundamental and most oft repeated pictorial symbol for Edward [VI]'s government as a zealous ruler".[22] By installing Bible-brandishing Veritie as one of Rex Humanitas's new counsellors, Lindsay

22 John, N. King, Tudor Royal Iconography: Literature and Art in an Age of Religious Crisis (Princeton, 1989) p.95.

reinforces the idea of evangelical, godly kingship; of a divinely sanctioned, scripturally modelled monarchy such as that evoked by English iconographers. To some in the audience, she may even have recalled the pageantry staged during Edward's coronation and the tableau depicting Justice, Faith and "ancient Truth, which long Time was suppressed/ With Heathen Rites and detestable Idolatrye", "Whom Abuses kept bound" until rescued by the new King's father.[23]

Of almost equal symbolic importance in the nascent Protestant iconography, particularly as it emerged in England, was the image of the sword. The sword was an ancient symbol of secular regal authority - especially in relation to the judicial aspect of kingship. However, it was also regarded as an evangelical symbol for the Bible, an association derived from St Paul's description of the Sword of the Spirit as the Word of God (Ephesians, 6:17). Depicting the Bible as a sword issuing from the mouth of Christ became a popular Protestant symbolic device and we find a similar image in Kitteis Confessioun:

> He schew me nocht of Goddis Word,
> Quhilk scharper is than ony sword,
> And deip in tyll our hart dois prent
> Our syn.
>
> (45-48)

The sword was also traditionally associated with the martyrdom of St Paul himself who, as author of the crucial distinction between Faith and Works, was particularly important to Protestants. Thus the sword was particularly qualified for absorption into the Protestant iconographic tradition. It evoked the presence of the most important Protestant saint and also linked the authority of God's Word with the regal authority of the King. The images of sword and book acquired added potency when brought together and it may be no coincidence that

---

23 Leland, Collectanea, IV, "The Procession of King Edward the VIth from the Tower to his Pallace at Westminster, and the Solempnitie of the Coronation", pp.310-33, p.321.

while Veritie bears a Bible, Divyne Correctioun wields a sword (1508). Of course, as noted above, the sword was a long-established symbol of judicial authority, but Correctioun's status as divine emissary together with his juxtaposition with Veritie suggests that - for those cognizant with the type of symbolism circulating south of the Border - his sword could be seen as something more than the traditional sword of justice. It may be, therefore, that Lindsay's use of symbolic stage-props delivered a subtly encoded message concerning the evangelical nature of Rex Humanitas's new rule.

II

As discussed above many of the issues Lindsay dealt with in his later works were not new to him. We see this continuity of concern with regard not only to the moral failings of the clergy but also to some of the practices upheld by the Church - for example, pilgrimages and the use of images. However, Lindsay's later treatment of these two topics illustrates a greater debt to Reformed thinking than the essentially Erasmian tone of The Complaynt. Lindsay launched his attack on two fronts, denouncing pilgrimages as occasions "Off fornicatioun and Idolatyre" (The Monarche, 2369). The former charge is the more mundane; a simple criticism of the sexual promiscuity of the pilgrims:

> I have sene pass one meruellous multytude,
> Young men and wemen, flygand on thare feit,
> Under the forme of feynit sanctytude,
> For tyll adore one Image in Loreit.
> Mony came with thare marrowis for to meit,
> Committand, thare, fowll fornicatioun.
> (2661-66)

Lindsay was not alone in such complaints. In 1558, one of the charges levelled against the heretic, Walter Myln, was his declaration that "there is no greater whoredome in no places, then at your pilgramages,

except it be in common brothels".[24] In similar fashion, Kitteis Confessioun had described pilgrimages as "The verray way to wantouness" (80). Lindsay's references to specific shrines (he also mentions shrines in Fife and Angus, 2654-56) suggest he based his accusations upon observation or at least upon contemporary gossip. (Lindsay also refers to Loretto in Ane Satyre when the false friar, Flatterie, declares his intention to improve his already prodigious flattery technique at the hands of the Hermit of Loretto.[25])

In the eyes of the Church, Lindsay's most damaging criticism of pilgrimages related not to the sexual conduct of the pilgrims but to the object of their devotions: the shrines, their images and relics. "Quhy", he asks the prelates,

> ...thole ye thame to ryn frome toun to toun,
> In Pylgrammage tyll ony Ymageris,
> Hopand to gett, thare, sum Saluatioun,
> Prayand to thame deuotlye on thare kneis?
> (The Monarche, 2649-52)

In The Monarche, the discussion of images and idolatry is developed by Lindsay at some length. He relates how the practice of praying to an image, invented by Ninus, was subsequently sustained by the greed of priests and craftsmen who prospered thereby. With reference to Boccaccio's *Genalogia deorum gentilium*, he describes pagan rites (1263-64) before turning to the "Imageis vsit amang Cristin men", and his

---

24 Knox, Works, I, p.553. (Reprinted from Foxe.)

25 The shrine of Loretto, founded in 1534, was a particular target of the Reformers. Alexander, Earl of Glencairn also penned a satirical verse attacking the Hermit, Thomas Doughty and the Gray Friars. (Knox, Works, I, pp.72-75 also in Calderwood, History, I, pp.135-38.) Knox ascribes the poem to 1542, so Lindsay may have been partly inspired by Glencairn's work. It may be also be significant that both works mention the King's confessor. Glencairn relates how the Hermit sought the advice of Walter Laing while Lindsay has Flatterie aspire to his office. Like the Hermit himself, James's confessor was particularly repugnant to those with Reforming sympathies. According to Foxe, Laing betrayed the confession of Henry Forrest and so secured his execution for heresy (Knox, Works, I, p.518).

description provides a colourful insight into the multiplicity of saints commonly invoked in pre-Reformation Scotland. Lindsay acknowledges the legitimacy of images insofar as they constitute the religious literature of the illiterate. This extremely traditional argument (it stretched back at least as far as the pronouncements of Gregory the Great) also appears in Hamilton's Catechisme. This Catechism, printed in 1552 at the expense of the Archbishop, was a simple statement of faith intended to be read weekly in Church thereby raising standards amongst both people and clergy and countering the threat of heresy. Like Lindsay, The Catechisme upholds the use of images "sa thai be weil usit" and notes that "to thame thar ar unletterat it geffis a quik rememberance of [the] passion of Christ".[26] The description of the Passion, Virgin and Apostles which follows again brings to mind The Monarche. However, although Lindsay grants images a limited role in the spiritual life, he categorically denies that they should be the object of veneration:

> Quharefor, brether, I counsall yow, repent.
> Gyff no honour to caruit stock nor stone;
> (2513-14)

Such a position was at odds with the official teaching of the Church, expressed for example by the Provincial Council of 1559:

> The images of Christ and the saints are lawful for the representation of the same and in order to their imitation; and the said images are to be treated with reverence, and not subject to derision and jeerings.[27]

Lindsay fell short of advocating iconoclasm or even 'derision and jeerings', but repeated attempts by the Church to enforce respect for

---

26 The Catechisme, that is to say, ane comone and catholik instructioun of the Christin people in materis of our catholik faith and religioun, quhilk na gude Christin man or waman suld misknaw. Set furth be the maist reverend father in God Johne Archbischop of Sanct Androus, in his prouincicial counsale haldin at Edinburgh the XXVI Day of Janurarie, the yeir of our Lord 1551 (St Andrews, 1552) fol.xxviii^{v}.

27 Patrick, Statutes, no.276.

images and to deal with iconoclasts suggests that this was perceived as a problem.[28] Although the two could easily be confused and conflated, denying honour to images of the saints did not necessarily constitute a denial of the efficacy of prayer to the saints themselves. However, while Lindsay is careful never to reject explicitly the intercessory power of the saints, and makes a conventional enough reference to it in both Ane Satyre (4622-24) and The Monarche (5690-94), in acknowledging the value of an image for the "vnleirnit", he stresses the value of saints as moral exemplars and not as potential mediators between God and man:

> It bringith to rememberance
> Off sanctis lyuis the circumstance;
> Quhow the faith for to fortifye,
> Thay sufferit pane rycht pacientlye.
> (The Monarche, 2329-32)

Only God, Lindsay asserts, should be the object of man's prayer and devotion: "Geue laude and glore to God Omnipotent/ Allanerlie" (2515-16). During the early 1550s, this was a matter of some controversy which focused in particular on the Pater Noster.[29] The dispute arose when the English Dominican, Richard Marshall, preached a sermon at St Andrews declaring that the Lord's Prayer should be addressed only to God. This stance was vigorously attacked by those who maintained, as was commonly held, that it might also be said to the saints. The ensuing controversy severely damaged the Church's reputation and the unseemly dispute was only extinguished when the 1552 Provincial Council promised to address the problem in its Catechism. However, when printed eight months later, Hamilton's Catechisme failed to resolve the issue. In a discussion of how men should keep the Sabbath, it somewhat casually included the words, "thai suld say thair Pater Noster to God",

---

28 A.P.S., II, p.371; Patrick, Statutes, no.225.

29 For details, see: Kantrowitz, Dramatic Allegory, pp.17-21.

but in the section dealing specifically with the Lord's Prayer there is a greater degree of ambiguity.[30] Thus the exposition is followed by "Ane declaratioun schawand to quhem we suld pray, and for quhom" which instructs people to pray to God, to good men and women that their prayers may help obtain grace and also to the saints for "no man suld dout, bot that sanctis pray for our saluatioun".[31] Lindsay was clearly aware of the controversy and, in Ane Satyre, Folie refers to the quarrelling friars unable to agree "To quhom thay sall say thair Pater Nosters" (4604). His knowledge of the situation must have informed his position when, in The Monarche, written only a few months after the Catechisme's publication, he rejects the ambiguous, conciliatory approach of the authorities. Referring to the Pater Noster, he writes:

> The quhilk is nocht directit, I heir say
> To Iohne, nor Iames, to Peter nor to Paull,
>
> Nor nonne vther of the Apostlis twelf,
> Nor to no Sanct, nor Angell in the Hewin
> Bot onely tyll our Father, God hym self.
> (2627-31)

His words rebuke those who:

> Doith wyrschip all thir Ymagereis;
> In Kirk, in Queir, and in the closter,
> Prayand to thame our Pater Noster.
> (2314-16)

The fact that Lindsay urged Archbishop Hamilton to this more radical position may reflect a belief that his stance was backed by a degree of popular opinion. Aware that the Pater Noster controversy had done little to strengthen the authority of the Church, Lindsay seized upon the opportunity of stirring the situation up still further.

Lindsay's support for the vernacular extends to the provision of vernacular prayer, the Pater Noster, Ave Maria and Creed (The Monarche, 643-49). For somewhat different reasons, such a call was

30 Hamilton's Catechism. fol.xxxvi^{r}.

31 Ibid., fol.clxxxxvi^{v}.

characteristic of both Christian humanists and Protestant Reformers.[32] Erasmus's *Paracleisis*, for example, supported the translation of the Bible and the creation of a corpus of scriptural writing - even of songs - for popular consumption. In a highly practical fashion, one designed to appeal to his popular audience, Lindsay points out that the ancient philosophers employed their native languages and that the Commandments were given to Moses in his own tongue. The saints and apostles too used the vernacular and had Jerome lived in Argyle, "In to Yrische toung his bukis had bene done compyle" (628). Such words strongly echo the defence of the vernacular found in Tyndale's The Obedience of a Christian Man:

> The sermons which thou readist in the Actes of the apostles & all that the apostles preached were no doute preached in the mother tonge. Why then mighte they not be written in the mother tonge...saynt hierom also translated the bible into his mother tonge. Wy may we not also?[33]

Despite the superficial similarities, we can not say to what extent, if any, Lindsay was indebted to reformers such as Tyndale. In fact, given his background, his position was probably largely inspired by the ethos of Christian humanism rather than that of evangelical Protestantism. In addition, the wording of The Monarche would have had more immediate connotations for his audience as only recently Hamilton's Catechisme had provided a vernacular exposition of the Creed, Ave Maria and Lord's Prayer. The Monarche may, therefore, have been intended as a subtle compliment to the Archbishop. But the fact that Lindsay was still calling for such translations after the Catechism's publication is also a criticism of its availability, for although the Catechism was to be regularly read in Church, access to the text was restricted to clerics

---

32 Humanists stressed the universal moral messages contained in Scripture, Protestants the theological (Cameron, Reformation Europe, p.142).

33 Quoted, King, Reformation Literature, p.46.

and a few laymen whom the Church ordinaries considered virtuous, discrete and of good faith.[34]

Although the Church authorized the vernacular exposition of the Lord's Prayer, Ave Maria and Creed (also the Sacraments and the Commandments), access to vernacular scripture was less clear-cut .. The legislation of March 1543 was never repealed but calls for the enforcement of existing legislation led to the renewed persecution of Protestants.[35] The Catechism of 1552 contained no specific injunction against reading Scripture in the vernacular, but whether this signified recognition of a *fait accompli* is unclear.[36] Vernacular prayers, however, were definitely not sanctioned. When in 1559, the lay lords submitted a petition (which subsequently formed the basis of the ecclesiastical statutes of that year), their call for public prayer in the vernacular was denied.[37] Had he still been alive at this point, Lindsay would undoubtedly have supported their position:

> It wer als plesand to thare spreit, in deid,
> God have mercy on me, for to say thus,
> As to say *Miserere Mei, Deus.*
> (The Monarche, 619-21)

Lindsay's deliberate references at this point to women and children, the most insignificant members of society, suggests that he intended a much more universal access to the vernacular than would ever be sanctioned by the authorities - indeed, many Protestant Reformers were uneasy with idea of universal access to Scripture.[38] With respect to

---

34 T. G. Law, ed., The Catechism of John Hamilton, Archbishop of St Andrews 1552 (Oxford, 1884) p.vii,

35 Sanderson, Cardinal of Scotland, pp.189-92.

36 Cameron, "Humanism and the Religious Life", p.162.

37 Patrick, Statutes, no.258.

38 Cameron, Reformation Europe, pp.142-44. Sadler reported that 'such as do pretend...to be professors of God's word' were greatly offended by the English legislation restricting access to Scripture but that the religious conservatives applauded the move, wishing the Government had gone yet further (Papers, I, p.265)

the use of the vernacular, Lindsay ventured appreciably further than Hamilton but, with his arguably tactful reference to the Archbishop's Catechisme, he couched it in somewhat less provocative terms.

As with the early works, we do not find much discussion of isolated theological points of doctrine in either Ane Satyre or The Monarche. Whether this reflects Lindsay's personal attitude to religious faith or whether it was conditioned by simple prudence is difficult to assess. Certainly, Lindsay was well aware of the Church's ability to smother dissent. Diligence's warning, "Speik thou of Preistis, but doubt thou will be hangit", may represent a not too subtle attempt to explain this apparent reticence to the audience of Ane Satyre (2030).[39] Given this background of suspicion and persecution, we can not be too surprised that Lindsay is all but silent upon some of the specific controversial doctrinal issues of the day, while, regarding others, he cultivates a studied ambiguity. However, while Lindsay's poetry understandably lacks the method of a theological treatise, it clearly suggests the general character of his piety.

With regard to the Sacraments, the "instrumentis of goddis mercy and grace in our iustificatioun", Lindsay has very little to say.[40] It is interesting to note that while in The Monarche he refers to the Lord's Prayer, Creed and Ave Maria (thus echoing Hamilton's Catechisme), he does not go on to mention the Sacraments, discussion of which formed an important part of the latter work. While Lindsay was no sacramentarian, it may well be that any debate on the Sacraments, particularly the Eucharist, was, as his French experiences had demonstrated, simply too hazardous. Following Wishart's mission of the

---

39 Obviously, if Lindsay were Diligence, this would be particularly effective. The warning is repeated several times; 2719-20 & 2773-74.

40 Hamilton's Catechism, fol.cxxi^{v}.

1540s and the attendant spread of Zwinglian ideas, the ecclesiastical authorities were particularly keen to crack down upon those who "are becumin Sacramentis".[41] The Church statutes of 1549, for example, instructed ordinaries to "proceed with the utmost rigour of the law against...sacramentarians, and chiefly against those who inveigh against the sacrament of the Eucharist".[42] Ten years later, the lords petitioned for action that no man might "dishonour or speik irreverently of the sacrament of the blissit Body and Blude of our Saviour Jesus Christ" and the Provincial Council felt it necessary to set down belief in the Real Presence as an article of faith.[43] In Squyer Meldrum, the dying knight calls in conventional enough fashion for extreme unction, but otherwise Lindsay remains largely silent on the matter. However, The Monarche offers a tantalizing suggestion that Lindsay did at least question standard practices, declaring that preachers should:

> Tyll all vertew thare hartis inclyne,
> In speciall, to preche with trew intentis,
> And minister the neidfull Sacramentis.
> (4845-47)

Lindsay's choice of the word "neidfull" is very suggestive in this context. While he might simply be affirming the necessity of all seven sacraments, his unusual phrasing does beg the question which of the Sacraments he considered 'non-needful'.[44] If he believed in the necessity of all seven, the word is strangely tautological. Unfortunately, this ambiguity, if such it is, is all we have to suggest

---

41 R.P.C., p.163.

42 Patrick, Statutes, no.225.

43 Ibid., nos. 258 & 276.

44 Hamilton's Catechism consistently refers to "the seuin sacraments" and does not use the term 'needful'. Neither does it appear to be common amongst the Reformers. It does not occur, for example, in the relevant section of The First Book of Discipline (James K. Cameron ed., (Edinburgh, 1972) pp.90-93).

that Lindsay was at least intrigued by contemporary discussion of the issue.

Belief in the necessity of the Sacraments is, of course, determined by one's conception of the relationship between God and mankind, of salvation attained by the latter and of grace granted by the former. This represents the crux of the Reformation divide. Luther and his successors offered people a new understanding of that relationship and the idea that man can be justified by faith alone represents the cornerstone of Reformation theology. To consider Lindsay's attitude to this position is to probe the heart of his religious faith and it is clear that, despite his many sympathies with Protestant thought and his tolerance of confessed Protestants, his faith was that of the Catholic Church. Lindsay's later works - particularly The Monarche - incorporate a vigorous challenge to the Protestant doctrine of Justification *sola fides*. The slightly earlier Satyre barely addresses the issue, but it should be noted that the Doctour's sermon, described by one commentator as "thoroughly evangelical and in accordance with Erasmian humanism", conveys an orthodox picture of the Christian man bringing his works before God, repaying love with love:[45]

> Be quhilk we may clim vp to lyfe againe,
> Out of this vaill of miserie and wa.
> (3493-94)

Similarly, the motive behind the installation of "sum devoit cunning Clarkis" is to "...steir vp the peopill to gude warks" (3159-60). In The Monarche, Lindsay addresses the question of works head-on being concerned not only to defend the doctrine of salvation through works but also to attack the opposing position. Asked what faith is, Experience tells the Courtiour:

---

45 Cameron, "Humanism and the Religious Life," p.170.

> Faith without Hope and Charitie
> Aualit nocht, my Sonne
> (482-83)

The argument is repeated:

> Quyk faith but cheretabyll werkis
> Can neuer be, as wryttis Clerkis,
> (490-91)

Of course, Protestants did not deny works any value; works are the good fruit born by the good tree.[46] Faith and charity are found together and, in the words of Patrick Hamilton, "he that hath faith can not displease God".[47] And yet, Lindsay's words can not be considered a subtle endorsement of the Protestant position, for while the above passages stress the need for faith *and* works, elsewhere the emphasis is upon the latter:

> Geue charitie in to the failis,
> Thy faith nor Hope no thyng auailis.
> (494-95)
> Do all the gude that may be wrocht
> But Caritie, all aualis nocht.
> (498-99)

Lindsay's discussion of faith again recalls Hamilton's Catechisme and the argument that it is not sufficient only to have faith, but that "This faith is alwayis ionit with hoip and cheritie, and werkis throw lufe".[48] Like Lindsay, The Catechisme cites James, 2, noting that even the Devil might have faith but that he wants hope and charity. This text appears to have been something of a thorn in the Reformers' side. Balnaves for one felt obliged to tackle it in his treatise on Justification and although antedating both The Catechisme and The

---

46 This was an extremely popular metaphor among the Reformers. For two Scottish examples, see: Balnaves, 'Justification', in Knox, Works, III, p.489 and Patrick's Places trans. & printed in James Edward McGoldrick, Luther's Scottish Connection (London & Toronto, 1989) pp.74-100.

47 Patrick's Places, p.82.

48 Hamilton's Catechism, fol.xciiii^{r}.

Monarche, his conclusion seems almost a direct challenge to the ideas of men like Lindsay and the Catholic reformers:

> Therefore, yee who would alledge this authoritie of S. James to impugn the Article of Justification which we confesse, understand not the Scriptures, nor have no foundation for you but ignorance and babbling of words.[49]

The role assigned to faith in The Catechisme and endorsed by Lindsay in The Monarche is not entirely in line with that promulgated at Trent some five years earlier and is, arguably, slightly Protestant in tone.[50] Whether this represents a deliberate doctrinal compromise is unclear, but it does seem as if the formula, whether by accident or design, was acceptable to men such as Lindsay who, in other respects, were more responsive to Protestant ideas.

Lindsay himself, while not accepting Luther's teaching on the matter of Justification, did tend to downplay the role of the Church in the process of winning salvation. He stressed the importance of an individual's good works rather than the sacraments of the Church and, above all, he emphasised the saving merits of Christ's suffering:

> And, mairattouir, it wes so proffitabyll
> That to this hour came neuir man, nor Sall,
> To the triumphand ioye Imperiall
> Off lyfe, quhowbeit that thai war neuer sa gude,
> Bot be the vertew of that precious blude
> (The Monarche, 266-71)

One of the central messages of The Monarche is a call to trust in God, particularly in the saving merit of His Son: "in Christis Blude sett all thy hole confort" (6275). At the end of the poem, Lindsay offers what is almost a prayer couched in similar terms:

> Grant ws to be, Lorde, of the chosin sort
> Quhame of thy mercy superexcellant,
> Did puriffy, as scripture doith report
> With the blude of that holy Innocent
> Iesu, quhilk maid hym self Obedient
> On to the deth and steruit on the Rude

---

49 Knox, Works, III, p.498.

50 Cowan, The Scottish Reformation, p.82.

Lat ws, O Lorde, be purgit with that blude.
(6225-38)

The focus on the Passion, also notable in Lindsay's earlier works, was, as we have seen, an important feature of much medieval piety. Yet while totally compatible with an orthodox construction, these lines may also have been informed by Protestant thinking. Such passages provide the key to Lindsay's own inner faith which, contemplative and personal in nature, was responsive to Protestant criticisms of the Church's monopoly on salvation and its attendant claims.

Thus Lindsay was not only unsympathetic to the Church's personnel, its economic exploitation of the poor and its independence from royal control, he was also increasingly suspicious of its claims regarding the remittance of man's sin. In Ane Satyre, he presents a vicious satire on the sale of Indulgences, papal remittance of sin which reduce time spent in Purgatory.[51] In the first instance, the satire is directed against the rapacious and ignorant pardoner, Sir Robert RomeRaker. There is, in fact, little evidence for the activity of pardoners in early sixteenth century Scotland and it has been suggested that Lindsay's creation was influenced by Chaucer's pardoner or, alternatively, by the French work, *La farce d'un Pardonner*.[52] However, if pardoners were a rare sight, Sir Robert's appearance assumes particular significance. If he failed to evoke personal memories for the audience, he would have recalled, for some at least, Friar Tetzel and the controversy which sparked the Lutheran Reformation. In Ane Satyre, the Pardoner is exposed as a greedy charlatan; should he encounter King Correctioun, he will surely hang (2201-02). However, Lindsay does not confine himself to indignant moral criticism of the

51 For a discussion of indulgences, particularly within the context of fifteenth century Scotland, see: Annie I. Dunlop, "Remissions and Indulgences in Fifteenth Century Scotland", R.S.C.H.S., (1966) XV, pp.153-68.

52 Cowan, The Scottish Reformation, p.9; Lyall, Ane Satyre, p.192.

Pardoner's greed, he calls into question the legitimacy of the pardons themselves, implying that they are as worthless as the fake relics Sir Robert hawks from town to town. From the outset, the utter irreligiosity of the Pardoner is made clear. He enters cursing "This vnsell wickit New-Testament,/ With them that it translaitit" (2051-52). Not only does he condemn the reformers Luther, Bullinger and Melanchthon (a sentiment probably shared by many of the audience), he also goes so far as to wish that St Paul had never been born - a position certainly unacceptable to Christian thinking. Additionally, the pardons he offers hail from Tartary which was by virtue of its Moslem faith generally associated with the kingdom of Satan.[53] This disturbing association is continued with the 'divorce' ceremony over which he presides.[54] Not only is the mutual kissing of arses physically obscene, it also conjures up visions of the diabolic pact, worthy indeed of "Baliels braid blissing" (2179). Lindsay amusingly brings out the fact that the pardon sold to the Poor man is worthless by having the latter look in bewilderment - and in vain - for his purchase. Not without humour, Lindsay fashions a Scottish context for the purposes of illustrating the type of unease which existed regarding the practice of selling indulgences. The belief that "It is mere human talk to preach that the soul flies out [of Purgatory] immediately the money clinks in the collection box" (even suggests Lindsay, the talk of the Devil) was not exclusively Lutheran.[55] Many humanists, notably Erasmus, were hostile to such mechanical devotions, bitterly denouncing

---

53 Lyall, Ane Satyre, p.193.

54 As Lyall points out his action was highly irregular. The right to grant divorce was restricted to the ecclesiastical courts and even then was granted only on very restricted ground (ibid., p.194).

55 Number 27 of the Ninety Five Theses (Rupp & Drewery, Martin Luther, pp.19-25.)

careful mathematical calculations regarding "the paying off of sin".[56] This attitude may also have found sympathy with Scottish Catholic reformers; on the question of indulgences, Hamilton's Catechisme, for example, is silent (admittedly the authorities may have been awaiting the Tridentine decree on the subject which was not issued until 1563). The discussion of indulgences again illustrates some of the difficulties of identifying the exact sources of Lindsay's religious attitudes, stressing the fluidity of a situation in which various strands of thinking, either together or individually, could prove influential.

While Ane Satyre is notable for the savagery of its attack on the sale of indulgences, The Monarche offers a more complex and critical discussion. Here, Experience refers to the Pope's power to remit sin, declaring disingenuously:

> It doith transcend my rude Ingyne
> His Sanctitude for tyll defyne,
> Or to schaw the auctoritie
> Pertenyng to his Maiestie.
> (4345-48)

His wry account of a God in thrall to the Papal command - a complete inversion of the natural order - serves to underscore the perversity of the idea that:

> Quhame euer he byndis by his mycht,
> Thay boundin ar in Goddis sycht.
> Quhame ever he lowsis in erth heir doun,
> Ar lousit be God in his Regioun.
> (4353-56)

What made indulgences such an important issue was, of course, the doctrine of Purgatory. As we have seen, Lindsay's attitude to Purgatory had long been somewhat ambivalent. This is less apparent in Ane Satyre and the Poor Man is able to claim:

---

56 Erasmus, Praise of Folly, pp.126-27.

> Quhen I am deid I wait full sikkerlie,
> My sillie soule will pas to Purgatorie.
> (2276-77)

However, in The Monarche, Lindsay is again much more ambiguous on the issue, calling into question the very existence of Purgatory. Discussing the opportunity for financial gain afforded the Church by the sale of indulgences, he wonders at:

> That marvelous monstour callit Purgatorye,
> Howbeit tyll ws it is not amyable,
> It hes to thame bene veray profytable.
> (4775-77)

Whether it is the aggressive abuse (that is, the rapacious sale of pardons) that is "not amyable" or whether it is the doctrine of the "mervelous monstour" itself is, carefully perhaps, left unclear - although the savage accent and derogatory language suggest the latter interpretation. Similarly, when Lindsay writes, "For Peter, Androw, nor Iohn culde neuer gett/ So profytable ane Fysche in to thare nett", it is not clear whether he is claiming that the apostles did not sell indulgences or, more radically, that they did not suscribe to the idea of Purgatory (4790-91). Certainly, the lines could have evoked current Protestant arguments that Purgatory was but a creation of the Roman Church for which there was no apostolic foundation. Finally, in support of the argument that Lindsay was delivering a circumspect critique of Purgatory, we have his accounts of the soul's experiences after death:

> Thy spreit sall passe, but tarying,
> Strauait way tyll Ioye Inestimabyll
> Or to strange pane Intollerabyll.
> (5164-67)

While the words, "strange pane" may allude to Purgatory, the phrases "but tarying" and "Strauait way" strongly suggest that Hell rather than Purgatory is to be inferred from this passage. (To pass straight to Heaven was, after all, an experience reserved for the saints.) That Purgatory had no place in Lindsay's vision of the after-life is perhaps

confirmed by similar phraseology in his statement that those who die leave a troubled world, passing on "Tyll Ioy and euirlestand lyfe" (5145). It seems, therefore, that over a period of some thirty years, Lindsay's attitude towards purgatory grew increasingly hostile. And with belief in Purgatory being made an article of faith in 1559, it seems as if such attitudes were a growing problem for the Scottish Church.[57]

As we have seen, Lindsay's attack on indulgences was bound up with his attitude towards the Papacy. Historians have tended to suggest that in the early decades of the sixteenth century, the question of papal authority aroused little attention in Scotland. Wormald considers that the Papacy was viewed almost entirely in a legalistic light, that until Knox's sermon there was virtually no challenge to its authority and that "the response to a papacy whose spiritual authority was very low was the dangerous one of indifference".[58] In his survey of early Scottish Protestantism, Cameron too finds little evidence for antipapalism, but notes that on those few occasions when the question was considered the reaction was generally hostile.[59] That papal authority was not perceived as a major issue was due in part to the ever growing number of conditions Scottish monarchs had been able to impose on papal interference in Scottish affairs. Nevertheless, there still existed important, albeit small and scattered, pockets of antipapal sentiment. One orthodox aspect of this was the attack on excessive claims to papal authority put forward by conciliarist theorists such as John Mair: it could be but a short step from the rejection of the *ius divinum* of the Papacy to rejection of the office

---

57 Patrick, Statutes, no.276.

58 Wormald, Court, Kirk and Community, p.79.

59 Cameron, "Aspects", p.10.

as a whole. Indeed, two early Scottish protestants, Hamilton and Alesius, both seem to have made this step having first been Mair's pupils.[60] Outwith the universities, we find at least a few antipapalists at Court, the most vehement of whom was probably John Borthwick.[61] English emissaries at court such as Dr William Barlow and Sir Ralph Sadler attempted to encourage such sentiment and it is surely significant that, only months after the death of James V, Parliament was prepared to sanction diplomatic alliance and dynastic union with a schismatic nation. Writing in 1543, Sadler, dubious about Scottish commitment to the Reformed Faith, noted that "such as pretend to favour God's word, do like chiefly that part which confuteth the primacy of the bishop of Rome".[62] There are also examples of antipapalism on a more humble level. For example, amongst the religious refugees in England in 1537 were four Scots from Ayr who had read the New Testament in English and who declared that the Bishop of Rome was not the Pope.[63] Such Scots would have appreciated some of the "Gude and Godlie Ballatis" which offered a colourful attack on both the person and the authority of the Pontiff. While such sentiments may have derived, like many of the songs themselves, from Germany (where popular antipapalism was more prevalent) and while such songs as The Paip, that Pagane full of Pryde possess a crude brutality untypical of the collection as a whole, they may (if circulated in uncensored form before 1565) have helped prepare for the reception of antipapal feeling within Scotland. The well-noted fact that Hamilton's Catechisme fails to make any reference to the authority of Rome may reflect what was, by this date,

60 Wiedermann, Martin Luther versus John Fisher, pp.26-27.

61 A letter written to Cromwell illustrates his passion on the matter. (L.& P. Henry VIII, XII, i, no.496.)

62 Sadler, Papers, I, p.265.

63 L.& P. Henry VIII, XII, i, no.703.

not so much Scottish indifference to the question but official awareness of a growing antagonism towards the Papacy. Lindsay, also influenced by his visits to England and his contact with John Knox, was extremely responsive to such feeling and, indeed, his own ferocious satires must have greatly contributed to the growth of Scottish antipapalism.

That Lindsay's attitude to the papacy is in many respects contradictory reflects his personal confusion and inability to reconcile a number of conflicting beliefs. Firstly, he could not completely repudiate the Papacy. Historical and institutional continuity were important to him and, believing the Papacy to have apostolic foundation, he could not deny it a role in the Church. However, exactly how Lindsay envisaged this role is difficult to grasp. He clearly wished for a return to apostolic values and practices, but he seems unable to visualize how this reformed papacy would function in a sixteenth century context. Instead, he concentrates upon the corruption of the papacy in terms both of morals and doctrine. So appalled is he by what he sees that he is driven into an ever more hostile position. This, combined with his enthusiasm for a monarchically-led reform process, fostered an attitude bordering upon the schismatic; although desperate to maintain the possibility of reform, the very reforms he demands amount to a virtual rejection of Rome. With this in mind, it is interesting to consider the homely creed recited by John the Commonweal in Ane Satyre:

> I trow *Sanctam Ecclesiam*
> Bot nocht in thir Bischops nor thir Freirs
> (3024-25)

Significantly, John omits the key word *Catholicam.*[64] The omission is clear when his words - endorsed by God's representative, Divyne

---

64 Lyall, Ane Satyre, p.198.

Correctioun - are set against the Tenth Article of Hamilton's Catechisme:

> I beleiue that thair is ane catholik kirk, quhairin is communioun of sanctis, and remissioun of synnis.[65]

Of Lindsay's later works, The Monarche offers the most comprehensive criticism of the actions and authority of the Pope. However, Ane Satyre too offers, somewhat more obliquely, an equally damning rejection of papal authority. In the first part of the play, Lindsay effectively establishes the moral corruption of the Papacy. In keeping with the sexual motif, the Roman court is satirized as the resort of Sensualitie, "the lemand lamp of lechery", and attacked for its licentiousness (238). (Significantly, such an attack suggests that Lindsay felt there was sufficient antipapalism in his Cupar audience for his words to generate an appreciative response.) In the second part of the play, Lindsay develops his assault, moving from questions of morality to those of authority. Here, the statutes enacted by the three estates loosen ties with Rome arguably to the point of schism. This is equally apparent from the dramatic action of the play. For example, Spiritualitie's opposition to the forcible removal of his servants, Covetice and Sensualitie, is accompanied by a threat to complain to the Pope which by its total ineffectiveness further exposes the sham of papal authority in Scotland (2495-98). Something similar can be seen with regard to the abolition of corspresent. Initially, Temporalitie recommends that the King seek papal permission for this measure, a move which prompts Lyall to write: "Lindsay here acknowledges explicitly the authority of the Pope in ecclesiastical matters since his consent is a prerequisite for the abolition of death duties".[66] In fact, the very opposite is true, for within minutes the

65 Hamilton's Catechisme, fol.cxvii^{r}.

66 Lyall, Ane Satyre, pp.196-97.

legislation has been enacted without any reference to Rome at all. The import of papal approval (which would surely have been unforthcoming) is unambiguously depicted as irrelevant to Lindsay's vision of a secularly guided reform process. Other statutes also assist the dissolution of papal influence in Scotland. Pluralism, a practice requiring papal dispensation, is abolished and the despatch of monies to Rome for benefices other than great archbishoprics was forbidden (although there was, in fact, nothing new about this type of barratry legislation).[67] In addition, the proposed institution of clerical marriage can only be viewed as a defiant rejection of papal authority. Cowan notes the diminution of papal authority which would have resulted from the implementation of this legislative programme , but argues that with the corresponding increase in royal authority it entailed, Lindsay was reflecting official policy.[68] This is unacceptably cautious. Lindsay went much further than could be sanctioned by the Pope and his position appears firmly schismatic. Moreover, when Ane Satyre was written, there was no James V to appreciate moves designed to shore up his personal authority *vis a vis* Rome. If Lindsay's play were indeed representing any sort of official policy, then that policy owed more to the government of England than Scotland.

Turning to The Monarche, we find a more explicit attack on the Papacy culminating in a lengthy (over 200 lines) and extremely hostile "Discriptioun of the Court of Rome" (4743-4973). Here Lindsay again rejects papal influence in Scotland, repeating the common grouse that "Preistis suld no more our substance so consume,/ Sendyng, yeirlye, so gret ryches to Rome" (4769-70). Additionally, in more general terms, he attacks papal pretensions to power over secular rulers:

---

67 Acts to curb the traffic in benefices were passed by James I, III and IV, (Nicholson, The Later Middle Ages, p.294, 432 & 557.)

68 Cowan, The Scottish Reformation, p.76.

Peter, be my Opinioun
Did neuer vse sic Dominioun.
(4605-06)

He repeats his belief that in temporal affairs the spiritual authority should be subject to the secular, rendering to Caesar what is rightfully his:

Christ did schaw his obedience
On to the Empriouris excellence,
And causit Peter for to pay
Trybute to Cesar for thame tway.
(4589-92)

Generally, however, Lindsay concentrates upon the corruption to which he believed the Papacy had succumbed. The essential concept of the Papacy is not disputed, for it was instituted by Christ, "be the vertew of his wourde," and it is still to be viewed as reformable (4380). Thus Lindsay calls for reform by the Pope, "With aduyse of his counsall generall" - an interesting pointer to the influence of the conciliarist tradition on his thinking and, perhaps, more widely within Pre-Reformation Scotland (4835). However, Lindsay was far from confident of the rehabilitation he proposed. In a later passage, he totally ignores the agencies of Pope and Council in the reform process and appeals instead directly to God (4690-66). He is driven to contemplate the prospect that reform will not be forthcoming, in which case "The plaiges of Iohnis Reuelatioun/ Sall fall vpone thare Generatioun" (4958-59). This reference to the Revelation of St John is important for, as we shall see, Lindsay locates the corruption of the papacy firmly within an apocalyptic scheme of world history. For Lindsay, the prophesied final monarchy of the latter days is clearly the corrupt temporal authority of the papal see; Rome, once "ane brycht Hierusalem", has become the Babylon of the Apocalypse (4940). This unnatural sense of disorder and perversion is strengthened by Lindsay's depiction of papal authority as a parody of secular kingship, a parody which operates simultaneously as a parody of Christian values. The

Pope is portrayed as a ruthless temporal ruler with officials in his dominion lands who, in order to implement his authority, wield both fire and sword. The papal diadem is set against the Crown of Thorns and a series of comparisons between the humility and poverty of Christ and the pride and materialism of the Pope serves to illustrate how far removed the latter is from the Christian ideal. In startling, extravagantly violent terms, Lindsay describes the degeneracy of the court of Rome:

> Ane horribyll vaill of euerilk kynd of vyce,
> Ane laithlye Loch of stynkand Lychorye,
> Ane curssit Coue, corrupt with Couatyce,
> Bordourit aboute with pryde and Symonye,
> Sum sayis, ane systerne full of Sodomye,
> Quhose vyce in speciall, gyff I wald declair,
> It wer aneuch for tyll perturbe the air.
> (4946-52)

Pushing his attack to the very limit, Lindsay must nevertheless have anticipated a less than hostile response, not only from the more obvious antipapalists in his audience, but even from the Church authorities. This is, after all, extraordinary language to find in a work ostentatiously dedicated to a Catholic Archbishop, one in whose hands his own fate as an accused heretic might lie.

Lindsay did not only attack the moral depravity of the Papacy. Arguing that such practices as clerical celibacy, dietary restrictions, the sale of indulgences, even indulgences themselves, were all the invention of the Church, he suggests that not only the personnel but also the practices of the Roman Church had become hopelessly corrupt. While accepting that the Papacy embodied a desirable link with the Apostolic church, Lindsay was appalled by its enslavement to sensuality and materialism and the consequent corruption of its ideals and practices. He therefore calls for the Church's renewed subjugation both to temporal authority and the law of Christ. Typically, the pathway to reform is left open (just), but the thrust of Lindsay's

argument is unmistakably geared towards a dissolution of the ties which bound Scotland to Rome.

III

As suggested above, Lindsay's antipapalism was closely bound up with his apocalyptic interpretation of history and in The Monarche, arguably the most antipapal of all his works, he offers his audience nothing less than a fully fledged apocalypse.[69] Apocalyptic literature has often been defined as literature evoked by crisis. This need not be an actual crisis, equally important is any perceived contradiction between what is and what should be or, in short, the frustration of new expectations.[70] The power of the apocalyptic idea to bridge the gulf between expectation and reality can be enormously attractive. Even without recourse to spurious posthumous psychoanalysis, we can probably conclude that the ability of the apocalypse to act as explanation greatly appealed - consciously or not - to Lindsay. In The Monarche, his own apocalypse is offered partly as didactic instruction, partly as a call to repentance but, in the first instance, as an explanation for the miserable condition of the contemporary world and the personal wretchedness of the narrator. Morbid as this might sound to the modern mind, in the last analysis it proved an optimistic ideology, explaining

69 For an examination of the confusing and often confused terminology associated with apocalypses, apocalypticism, and eschatological expectation, see: Paul Christianson, Reformers and Babylon: English Apocalyptic Visions for the Reformation to the Eve of the Civil War (Toronto, 1978) p.7; John J. Collins, The Apocalyptic Imagination: An Introduction to the Jewish Matrix of Christianity (New York, 1984) p.4 and Bernard McGinn, "Early Apocalypticism: the Ongoing Debate", in C. A. Patrides, & Joseph Wittreich, ed., The Apocalypse in English Renaissance Thought and Literature (Manchester, 1984) pp.2-39. For the purposes of this study, the term 'apocalypse' is taken to refer to a literary genre, 'the Apocalypse' generally refers to biblical apocalyptic literature, while 'apocalypticsm' refers to the attempted discernment of a message, of a revealed or prophesied truth, within the historical process and with reference to eschatological expectations.

70 Adela Yarboro Collins, Crisis and Catharsis: The Power of the Apocalypse, (Philadelphia, 1984) pp.99-100.

the apparently inexplicable and enabling Lindsay to meet death with equanimity. His explanations over, Experience comforts the Courtiour, "Dreid nocht to dee" (6300).

While it is comparatively easy to comprehend the deep-rooted psychological attraction exercised by the apocalyptic idea, the more immediate factors stimulating Lindsay's interest are less obvious. Since the emergence of apocalypticism two to three centuries B.C., the idea had become well established in western consciousness. The Jewish concept of God working through history had been readily absorbed by Christianity which saw in the Incarnation and Resurrection God's direct involvement in the historical process, and apocalypticism underpinned medieval historical and eschatological thinking.[71] The medieval apocalyptic tradition was itself multifaceted, incorporating, for example, the mainstream commentaries on the Apocalypses, the Joachimist tradition and the legend of the Antichrist, while the Reformation provided a further stimulus to the idea.[72] For many Reformers, bewildered by the discrepancy between their new expectations and the existing reality, the Apocalypse appeared to speak directly to them.[73] By explaining history, it thereby legitimated the stance and experiences of early Protestants, locating them firmly within the matrix of revealed history. In this way, such otherwise

---

71 Marjorie Reeves, "The Development of Apocalyptic Thought: Medieval Attitudes", in The Apocalypse in English Renaissance Thought and Literature, pp.40-73, p.40.

72 Richard Bauckham, Tudor Apocalypse: Sixteenth Century Apocalypticism, Millenarianism and the English Reformation: from John Bale to John Foxe and Thomas Brightman (Oxford, 1978) p.17.

73 Despite Luther's original doubts concerning the status of Revelation in the New Testament canon, he grew to appreciate its value as a means of explaining papal corruption and his letters reveal a growing conviction that the Pope was the prophesied Antichrist (Jaroslav Pelikan, "Some Uses of the Apocalypse in the Magisterial Reformers", in The Apocalypse in English Renaissance Thought and Literature, pp.74-92, pp.83-85).

incomprehensible phenomena as suffering, persecution and the entire existence of the Roman Church attained meaning. Consequently, Protestant writers became increasingly concerned with apocalyptic themes and, by the time Lindsay wrote The Monarche, there existed a number of possible sources upon which he could draw.

Lindsay's apocalypticism appears to have been derived from the emergent Protestant tradition as developed both in England and on the Continent. It has already been suggested that Lindsay's interest in the idea was aroused by Knox in 1547. Knox himself was convinced that he had opened the eyes of his Scottish audience and, although notoriously prone to exaggerate the importance of his own actions, he is probably right to think his type of Reformed apocalypticism was something new to the majority of Scots.[74] Knox himself seems to have derived his ideas principally from English sources - or at least English translations of Continental works. Katherine Firth has offered some tentative suggestions as to the precise identity of these sources including George Joye's Exposition of Daniel (1545), Frith's translation of Luther's *De Antichristo* (1529) and possibly Barnes's *Vitae Romanorum Pontificum* (1535).[75] (Wishart too may supply a link with Continental apocalypticism.) English apocalypticism has several distinguishing characteristics, notably a stress on the themes of persecution and suffering. These represent important themes of Lindsay's work and it seems fair to conclude that he was partially indebted - via Knox - to the English tradition.

Lindsay's debt to Continental sources is much easier to trace. In The Monarche, the important German apocalypse, Carion's Chronicle, is expressly cited no less than five times (3521, 3616, 3621, 4506 &

74 Knox, Works, I, p.192.

75 Katherine R. Firth, The Apocalyptic Tradition in Reformation Britain 1530-1645 (Oxford, 1979) pp.116-17.

5286).[76] Johan Carion, mathematician, astrologer and doctor, first issued his Chronicle around 1531 after which it appears to have passed to Melanchthon and his colleagues for comment and correction. Interestingly, one of those who collaborated in the editing of the Chronicle was the Italian humanist Ferrerio who had been so influential in establishing the New Learning in Scotland.[77] Offering a world history framed with reference to Daniel's vision of the four monarchies and brought up to the sixteenth century, the Chronicle displays a strong German emphasis. A number of Latin versions of Carion's work were published; one such was translated into English, and French versions also followed.[78] It is hard to know which version Lindsay knew. The original German was probably beyond his linguistic scope, while the earliest French version, produced by Jean le Blond in 1553, was available too late to be of use. Basing his case on some unconvincing verbal parallels, Hamer maintains that he used the 1550 English translation. He notes that references to Carion occur only in the last half of the poem and concludes that Lindsay obtained a copy of Carion around 1551 which he then incorporated into the remainder of his work "not as a primary source book...but to supply illustrations and facts additional to those provided by other authorities".[79] However, Lindsay's use of cited authorities in The Monarche is by no means even-handed and it makes more sense to argue that Lindsay utilized Carion where it best suited. Certainly, it seems too fundamental a source to

---

76 Carion's Chronicle: The thre bokes of cronicles & c. gathered wyth great diligence of the best authors; whereunto is added an appendix by John Funke (London, 1550)

77 John Durkan & James Kirk, The University of Glasgow 1451-1577 (Glasgow, 1977) p.214.

78 Hamer, Works, III, pp.240-242. See also: Alisdair M. Stewart, "Carion, Wedderburn, Lindsay", Aberdeen University Review (1972) pp.271-74.

79 Hamer, Works, III, p.241.

be included simply as an afterthought. Lindsay's use of Carion - whose authority is cited in preference to other named texts - constitutes a self-confident declaration of his familiarity with contemporary European scholarship. We must, however, beware of seeing this as exclusive to Protestant sympathisers as the undoubtedly Catholic author of The Complaynt of Scotland also refers to the Chronicle for the purposes of historical periodization.[80] Clearly, Scots could be impressed and influenced by the scholarship of Protestant apocalypticism without necessarily sharing the faith which inspired it. Nevertheless, the work of Lindsay and Wedderburn together with Knox's first sermon suggests that in the mid-sixteenth century apocalyptic ideas conditioned by Protestant thinking were gaining currency and meeting with a response in Scotland.[81]

World histories constituted an important and thriving literary genre throughout the Middle Ages. The traditional idea of history as a divinely structured progress, cosmic in scope and linear in orientation was grounded in the work of early Christian writers such as Eusebius, Augustine and Orosius.[82] Clearly, Lindsay was familiar with patristic world histories; in his own, he cites both Eusebius and Orosius as sources. Lindsay's edition of Eusebius - a fourth century work subsequently enlarged upon by a succession of authors including St Jerome - was that compiled by Palmerius of Florence, continuing up to 1511 (4557).[83] Orosius, or at least the sixteenth century French

---

80 The Complaynt of Scotland, pp.28-29.

81 For the later history of Scottish apocalypticism, see: Arthur H. Williamson, Scottish National Consciousness in the Age of James VI: The Apocalypse, the Union and the Shaping of Scotland's Public Culture (Edinburgh, 1979).

82 C. A. Patrides, The Grand Design of God: The Literary Form of the Christian View of History (London, 1972) pp.1-34.

83 Hamer, Works, III, p.324.

translation used by Lindsay (1747) and cited five times was a much more important source (1240, 1644, 1745, 1815 & 3485). Indeed, Orosius's title *De Miseria Mundi* was borrowed by Lindsay for his own work, "Off the Miserabyll Estait of the World".

The idea of history and historical change is crucial to The Monarche where it is employed in a number of ways. Firstly, Lindsay presents a linear, narrative version of history from Creation to Judgement; secondly, he uses history to illustrate a moral message concerning the exercise of power; and thirdly, history is used to explain not only the past but the present and future. Although it provided the necessary framework for the development of apocalyptic theories, the doctrine of Providence - of God working in and through history - was not the only method for comprehending the past, for it existed alongside and in tension with the classical, cyclical view of history as well as the Platonic affirmation of an unchanging reality. Moreover, while the popularity of providential history was partially fostered by the humanist insistence on a sense of historical progression towards a perceived goal (the arrival of the classically inspired Age of Gold), in other respects humanism subtly undermined the idea of Providence.[84] Increasingly, humanist history focused on nations or individuals rather than the entire cosmos, evolving novel schemes of periodization which referred to the affairs of men rather than to God's involvement in the world. In addition, the classical figure of *Fortuna* often replaced God as the force controlling human destiny.[85] The concept of Fortune, the capricious mistress idly toying with her Wheel, gave rise to potentially conflicting ideologies. On

---

84 For 'The Age of Gold' idea, see: Reeves, The Influence of Prophecy, p.429.

85 Although Augustine had suggested a Christianized conception of Fate as the servant of Divine Providence.

the one hand, it satisfactorily allowed virtue and honour to stand independent of success or failure; on the other, it could lead to a profound pessimism in man's ability to rise above such a powerfully arbitrary force. It has been claimed that "The main effect of reverting to this classical picture of the human predicament was to generate amongst the humanists a new and exciting sense of man's ability to struggle against the tide of fortune, to channel and subdue its power, and in this way to become, at least to some extent the master of his own fate".[86] Yet, as the litany of once proud figures brought low in The Testament of the Papyngo suggests, such Renaissance optimism is not characteristic of Lindsay's work. Rather than a force to be overcome, *Fortuna* represents a power to bow before and, although her judgments could be perceived as corrective in character, generally they were nothing more than cruelly arbitrary. Such thinking underscored Lindsay's disquiet about the inconstancy of political life and reinforced his desire for a more spiritual, contemplative existence. While, as we have seen, Lindsay was at first unable to resolve this dilemma, in old age he is firmly committed to this ideal and prepared to renounce worldly ambition. Warning the Courtiour not to trust in earthly rewards, Experience explains:

> Thare is no warldly thyng at all,
> May satysfie ane mannis Saull
> (5042-43)

This message is hammered home in the final "Exhortatioun", which, stressing that "the tyme is verray short", urges men to contemplate the miseries of the world, to focus on approaching death, and "In erthlye materis...tak no more cummer" (6274 & 6299).

While he rejects the humanist concept of Fortune, it is in a humanist enough fashion that Lindsay uses The Monarche to paint an

---

86 Skinner, Foundations, I, pp.96-97.

instructive series of moral exemplars. The stories of Assyrian rulers in particular (Ninus, Semaramis and Sardanapalus) represent traditionally articulated warnings against the vices of pride, ambition and lust. At the same time, however, Lindsay makes it clear that it is God's intervention in the world which is under discussion. Writing of the death of Semaramis, he notes various suggestions as to why she was murdered, yet concludes:

> None vther cause I can defyne,
> Except punissioun deuyne.
> (3221-22)

Biblical episodes such as the Flood, the destruction of Sodom and Gomorrah, the fate of Lot's wife, the Egyptian plagues and the twice-over destruction of Jerusalem also introduce a moral lesson while simultaneously suggesting God's action in history. Indeed, the entire history of the four world monarchies is presented in this light:

> Thir Monarcheis, I vnderstand,
> Preordinat wer by the command
> Off God, the Plasmatour of all,
> For to doun thryng and to mak thrall
> Undantit Peple vitious
> And als for to be gratious
> To thame quhilk vertuous wer and gude,
> As Daniell, heth done conclude
> At length, in tyll his Propheseis,
> (3724-32)

For Lindsay, God's action in history is not just a simple matter of reward and punishment. The heart of the apocalyptic message was that God was working in and through history. Although the future was thus determined by a divine will, this did not mean that it could be inferred from the careful study of past and present signs. It had, however, been revealed to a few chosen individuals and consequently scriptural prophecies were eagerly scanned by those seeking a framework within which to fix both contemporary and future events.[87]

---

87 As Christianson comments, although 'not all prophets espoused an apocalyptic framework,...all apocalyptic thinkers acted, to a greater or lesser degree, as prophets', (Reformers and Babylon, p.6).

The prophetic tradition was multifaceted, being derived in the first instance from three principal biblical sources: the Book of Daniel which described the passage of four world empires, the Book of Revelation which traced the history of the Church, and the Prophecy of Elijah which, with its tripartite division of history, effectively described the duration of the world. Periodization is, of course, the crucial factor in imparting prophetic potential to a work. Two of the most enduring historical periodizations were those articulated by Augustine. Firstly, there is the idea of the three stages of salvation (in effect, a christianization of the Talmudic prophecy of Elijah) which splits world history into a period before Moses (*ante legum*), a period under the Law (*sub lege*) and a period under the Grace of Christ (*sub gratia*). Secondly, we have the Six World Ages or 'Cosmic Week' theory which divides history into six millenia followed by a seventh thousand year period - a chronological macrocosm of the six days of Creation and the Sabbath. This interpretation was often complicated by virtue of being conflated with the twentieth chapter of Revelation which predicted a period when Satan would be bound for a thousand years while the saints ruled with God. Although this could give rise to a powerful chiliastic hope (the expectation of experiencing this 'Sabbath' period on earth), Augustine's insistence that it was not to be taken literally but as a metaphor for the time of the Church emerged as the standard interpretation of the Middle Ages.[88] This non-millenarian view remained typical of early Protestant apocalypticism and, as we shall see, it is characteristic of The Monarche.

For his own apocalypse, Lindsay draws upon more than one of these traditional chronologies. Like Carion, Lindsay's basic historical framework is supplied by the four world monarchies prophesied by Daniel

---

88 McGinn, "Early Apocalypticism", p.28.

and he embarks upon a lengthy discussion of the Prophet's interpretation of Nebuchadnezzar's dream and his vision of the ram and the goat which together articulate the four monarchies theory (3724-93). However, like Carion, Lindsay also incorporates the prophecy of Elijah into his history:

> The worlde shall stande syxe thousand yeres and after shall it fall,
> Two thousande yeares wythout the lawe.
> Two thousande yeares in the lawe
> Two thousande yeares the tyme of Christ
> And yf these yeares be not accomplyshed our sinnes shall be the cause, whyche are great and many.
> (Carion's Chronicle,)[89]

It being commonly accepted that Creation could be dated to 4000 B.C., the six thousand year span of history was therefore shared by Elijah's prophecy and the Cosmic Week interpretation. Nevertheless, Lindsay takes care to attribute his periodization to Elijah - via Carion - rather than to the Six Ages theory:[90]

> Sum wryttaris hes the warld deuidit
> In sex ageis (as bene desidit
> Into *Fasciculus Temporum*
> And *Chronica Cronicarum*).
> Bot, be the sentence of Elie,
> The warld deuydit is in thre;
> As cunnyng Maister Carioun
> Hes maid plane expositioun,
> How Elie sayis, withouttin weir,
> The warld sall stand sax thousand yeir
> Off quhome I sall follow the sentence,
> And lattis the vther Bukis go hence.
> (5280-91)

The strength of the final rhyming couplet represents a confident proclamation of Lindsay's ideological allegiance to the emerging tradition of Protestant apocalypticism.

---

89 Carion's Chronicle, fol.vi^{v}

90 The *Fasciculus*, a history of the world since the Creation was first printed in 1474. The *Cronica Cronicarum* is, according to Hamer, probably a French version of an abridgement of the *Fasciculus* printed in Paris in 1521 and 1532 (Works, III, p.449).

As Lindsay calculates, this type of periodization leaves men with several centuries yet in hand:

> And so remanis to cum, but weir
> Four hundreth, with sewin and fourtye yeir.
> (5301-02)

However, the problem for mankind was that human sin would cause the final period of history to be cut short by an unspecified number of years. As seen above, Carion alludes to this in his reference to Elijah's prophecy and he goes on to cite the Gospel of St Matthew. Lindsay too, probably following Carion, cites Matthew, 24 in this context:

> Cristis sayis the tyme salbe maid schort;
> As Mathew planilye doith report,
> That, for the warldis Iniquitie
> The letter tyme sall schortnit be,
> (5306-09)

Like most early Reformers, Lindsay denies that any exact calculation concerning the duration of future time can be made. In answer to the Courtiour's question concerning the date of the Last Judgement, Experience replies:

> ...perturbe nocht thine intent
> To knaw day, hour, nor moment.
> To God allone the day bene knawin,
> Quhilk neuer was to none Angell schawin.
> (5264-67)

However, despite this uncertainty, Lindsay shared the conviction of many Protestant thinkers that the End, although unknowable, was imminent. Not only was the prophecy of Elijah nearing fulfilment, but various other signs existed to presage the end of the historical process. Disturbances in nature, violations of the social order, general moral decadence were all traditionally understood to herald the End and in the mid-sixteenth century men did not have to look far for such phenomena. Carion's Chronicle includes many marvellous omens, and Lindsay too, although much less lurid and comparatively unspecific, locates contemporary disasters within an apocalyptic scheme:

> Tokynnis of darth, hunger, and pestilence,
> With cruell weris, boith be sey and land,
> Realme aganis realme with mortall violence,
> Quhilkis signifyis the last day ewin at hand.
> (4238-41)

Further harbingers of the End were the fifteen signs described by St Jerome. Although Lindsay refers to these, he does not accept them unreservedly, characteristically basing his position on scriptural authority:

> Off sum of thame [the signs] I tak no cure,
> Quhilk I fynd nocht in the scripture.
> (5822-23)

Turning instead to passages in the Gospels of Matthew and Mark and following certain unnamed "cunnyng clerkis", Lindsay construes the darkening of the sun, moon and stars therein described as the corruption of the spiritual estate, the prince and the people (5334).[91] Pauline texts are also used as prophecy:

> Bot now apperis the prophesie of Paull,
> Quhow sum suld ryis, on to the latter aige,
> That frome the trew faith sulde depart and fall,
> And suld forbid the band of Mariage.
> Als thow sall fynd, in to that sam passaige
> Thay sulde command frome meitis tyll abstene,
> Quhilk God creat, his pepyll to sustene.
> (4904-10)[92]

Again, the corruption of the spiritual estate (manifest here in the false practices preached by the Papacy) provided Lindsay with evidence that he was living in the latter days. This belief undoubtedly inspired a sense of involvement in what was widely perceived as the last chapter in world history, the final cosmic struggle between the forces of good and evil. This feeling of personal involvement was vital in mitigating what might otherwise have been a very passive approach to the affairs of a world which was anyway about to end. While we might expect the renunciation of worldly ambition in favour of

---

91 Matthew, 24:29 & Mark, 13:24-25.

92 Timothy, 4:1-3.

spiritual contemplation to emasculate Lindsay's stirring social and political criticisms, his apocalyptic convictions gave his pleas for reform an added urgency. With "The plaiges of Iohnis Reuelatioun" poised to fall on the ungodly, repentance and reform were more vital than ever (The Monarche, 4958).

The corruption of the Roman Church was a major theme of Protestant apocalypticism with the Pope increasingly being identified as the Antichrist prophesied in the Book of Revelation. Additionally, Daniel refers to a period after the four world monarchies characterized by the rule of a wicked king who persecutes the godly :

> Daniell sayis, in his propheseis,
> That, efter the gret Monarcheis,
> Sall ryse ane maruellous potent kyng
> Quhilk with ane schameles face sall ryng,
> Mychtie and wyse in dirk speikyngis
> And prospir in all plesand thyngis.
> Throuch his falsheid and craftynes,
> He sall flow in to welthynes.
> The Godlye pepyll he sall noye
> By cruell deith, and thame distroye.
> (5212-19)

According to more traditional exegesis, this period had not yet arrived, for the fourth empire (that of Rome) still survived in the form of the Holy Roman Empire. This was the line adopted by Carion:

> And to the honor of such an empire or superioritie, hath God exalted the Germans before other nations in these later times.

His periodization was, however, slightly blurred by simultaneously casting the Ottoman Empire as a fifth empire, "an other empyre full of cruelnesse, and suche one that shall make a new law agaynst Gods word".[93] Nevertheless, by supporting the idea of imperial continuity, Carion's strongly pro-German text tended to obscure this identification. Unsurprisingly, Lindsay does not reflect this German bias. Moreover, he was in no doubt but that the four empires had run their course:

---

93 Carion's Chronicle, fol.v^{v}.

> Now is the warld of Irne myxit with clay,
> As Daniell at lenth hes done indyte.
> The gret Impyris ar meltit clene away;
> Now is the warld of dolour and dispyte.
> (4231-34)

In addition to supplying a further sign that the world "is drawand to ane end", this also allows Lindsay to locate the prophesied fifth empire in his own times (4237). Furthermore, he identifies the fifth empire, that of the Antichrist, with the Roman Papacy. This idea was not new. As early as February 1536, Cranmer had preached on this theme, arguing that the fourth empire was in ruins, "that the Pope was the true Antichrist and none other need be looked for".[94] Lindsay may have been touched by such ideas, but he did not share Cranmer's belief that the Pope was the *only* Antichrist but considered rather that he was one of many. Perhaps Lindsay's most likely inspiration was Knox's 1547 sermon. The significance of Lindsay's interpretation, therefore, lies not in its novelty but rather in its comprehensive articulation of one of the earliest examples we have of Scottish apocalyptic thinking.

The antichrist tradition transmitted through Judaeo-Christian sources was essentially three-fold although the three different motifs could and did overlap. Firstly, there had developed an elaborate mythology designed to identify a specific individual antichrist by means of his birth and career. Basically this comprised a fantastical, demonic parody of the life of Christ culminating with a three and a half year reign before the Last Judgement.[95] In The Monarche, the Courtiour refers to this legend only for Experience to reject it:

> My Sonne (said he) as wryttis Iohne,
> There sall nocht be one man allone,
> Hauyng that name in speciall.

---

94 L.& P. Henry VIII, XII, i, no.843.

95 Full details of the legend are given in: Bauckham, Tudor Apocalypse, pp.91-93.

Bot Antechristis in generall
Hes bene, and now ar, mony one.
(5192-96)

This owes more to the tradition viewing the antichrist as a spiritual opposition to Christ existing through all ages. As such, it could be conflated with the third aspect of the legend which cast the Turks (occasionally the Jews) as antichrist:

All Turkis, Sarazenis, and Iowis,
That in the sonne of God nocht trowis
Ar Antechristis, I the declare,
Because to Christ thay ar contrare.
(5208-11)

At this point, Lindsay goes on to cite the Pauline prophecy concerning a "man of Iniquity" sitting in "the holy sait" which he takes to be a reference to the Papacy (5226 & 28). The Book of Revelation is also employed to confirm this interpretation:

Thare kyngdome [Rome] may be callit Babilone,
Quhilk vmquhyle was ane brycht Hierusalem,
As planelye menis the apostill Iohne.
(4939-41)

The constantly repeated accusation that the Pope ruled without respect for the law of Christ and the savage account of papal authority parodying the rule of Christ confirms this idea. The lengthy description contrasting the rule of Rome with the rule of Christ has strong links with the burgeoning Christ/Antichrist 'Antithesis' literature, in itself "almost a genre in Tudor England".[96] Indeed, Lindsay describes his account in these very terms:

Sic Antitheses many mo
I mycht declare, quhilkis I lat go.
(4659-60)

Increasingly, Protestant thought, while acknowledging various antichrists, came to identify the specifically prophesied antichrist with the Papacy. This idea appears to have entered Britain from the Continent. Found in Luther and subsequently developed by other

---

96 Ibid., p.95.

Protestant thinkers, it was fully expounded in England in 1536. While Lindsay never adopted this interpretation, he did reject the notion that further incarnations of antichrist were yet to be expected within history:

> One gretar Antechrist to ryng
> Beleue nocht that, in tyme cumyng,
> Nor thare hes bene, and presentlye
> Ar now,
> (5234-37)

Lindsay's belief in a much more widespread evil - manifest in numerous and various antichrists - was the key factor in comprehending the latter days:

> The warld is drawand neir ane end.
> For legionis ar cum, but doute,
> Off Antechristis, wer thay soucht out.
> (5313-15)

Equating Pope with antichrist had important implications for those who stood in opposition to the Papacy, helping to explain a major problem of Reformation theodicy. Why were those of the True Faith forced to suffer for that faith? Suffering, persecution and martyrdom are, therefore, dominant themes in a great deal of apocalyptic thinking, particularly as it developed it England. They are also striking characteristics of Lindsay's later works. The persecution of Veritie in Ane Satyre emotively recalls the suffering of early Protestants (or at least those sympathetic to Reforming ideals) and Veritie herself draws attention to the apocalyptic import of her predicament:[97]

> The Prophesie of the Propheit Esay
> Is Practick alace, on me this day:
> Quha said the veritie sould be trampit doun
> Amid the streit, and put in strang presoun.
> His fyue and fyftie chapter quha list luik,
> Sall find thir wordis written in his Buik.
> Richt sa Sanct Paull wrytis to Timothie

97 Reid also draws attention to the apocalyptic undertones of Veritie's speech referring to the Last Judgement (1605-08), ("Rule and Misrule", p.10).

That men sall turn thair earis from veritie.
(1176-83)

Veritie, however, expresses confidence that God will vindicate her suffering and judge her oppressors. Envisaging the torments awaiting those who presently torment her, she is able to face her ordeal confidently and her words here prefigure those used by Lindsay in The Monarche:

Bot in my Lord God I haue esperance,
He will prouide for my deliverance.
Bot ye Princes of Spiritualitie,
Quha suld defend the sinceir veritie
I dreid the plagues of Iohnes Revalatioun
Sall fall vpon your generatioun.
I counsall yow this misse t'amend
Sa that ye may eschaip that fatall end.
(1184-91)

The ensuing drama justifies Veritie's stance. Moreover, her liberation and the punishment of her enemies - enacted by God's direct emissary, Divyne Correctioun - also reflects God's wider action in the drama of world history. The Lutheran theology of the Cross which stresses the need for all to share in the suffering of Christ was also important in coming to terms with persecution. Veritie's meek acceptance of her fate suggests that this too may have influenced Lindsay:

For our Christis saik I am richt weill content
To suffer all thing that sall pleis his grace;
Howbeit ye put ane thousand to torment.
(1156-58)

Because Lindsay never left the Catholic Church, he was not concerned, as were some thinkers, to emphasize the 'hidden' nature of the True Church which existed alongside the corrupt Roman institution. Nevertheless, there is in his work a strong feeling that the experience of suffering and persecution, participation in the final conflict between good and evil, was a vital component of the drama of the latter days. Moreover, his stress upon the punishment awaiting those who persecute the godly, the apocalyptic adaptation of the traditional biblical theme of retribution, acts to fortify faith in difficult

circumstances. There is no doubt in Lindsay's writing that persecutors - referred to as "Unmerciful memberis of the Antichrist" (2573) - shall be judged and the faithful triumphantly vindicated:

> The Innocent blude that day, sall crye,
> One loude vengeance, full peteouslye
> On those creuell bludy bouchouris,
> Martyeris of Prophetis and Prechouris
> Sum with the fyre, sum with the sworde,
> Quhilk plainly prechit Goddis worde.
> That day thay sall rewardit be,
> Conforme to thare Iniquitie.
> (The Monarche, 5804-11)

Following Experience's command to "leue warldly vaniteis" and "Prent thir four in thy memorye,/ The Deith, the Hell, and heuinnis glorye,/ And extreme Iugement Generall", Lindsay goes on to illustrate this eschatological vision in some detail (4994-96). He takes his world history up to and beyond "the moste terrabyll day of the extreme Iugement", recounting at length the dreadful signs to be expected immediately prior to the Last Day (5450-509). The End will arrive suddenly. Christ will descend to earth above Mount Olivet and "All Prophesie thare salbe compleit" (5567). With history having reached the end of its progress through time, the poem moves into a suprahistorical era to consider Judgement, Heaven and Hell. Lindsay describes a literal resurrection of the dead and the immortalization of the living "with fyre" (5617). He portrays Christ's separation of the sheep and the goats, listing at length those who will be damned. Although clerics of all ranks teem in Hell, this passage, like Falset's final speech in Ane Satyre, represents a call for the repentance of all of society. In particular though, it articulates Lindsay's final desperate plea for Church reform:

> On thame gret sorrow salbe sene,
> Without that thay thare lyfe amend
> In tyme,
> (5923-25)

Lindsay's description of Hell is considerably shorter than his treatment of Heaven to which he devotes a separate section entitled "Off certane Plesouris of the Glorifeit bodies". Faced with an impossible task - the attempted description of a glory "non in erth may comprehend" - Lindsay does not attempt anything too ambitious but relies instead upon an appeal to familiar sensations (6160). Heaven means the end of physical suffering and the enjoyment of "sensuall plesouris delectabyll" (6130). This down-to-earth approach was calculated to appeal to the broad audience to whom he addressed the poem. By fixing in his readers' minds a vision of Heaven as comprehensible as it was inspirational, Lindsay helped to strengthen their faith, calling them to repentance and preparing them to meet death with fortitude.

The scale of his ambition and scope of his vision surely make this, Lindsay's last work, his most important. In a final creative burst, he draws together many of the themes which characterize his other compositions. Moreover, The Monarche, the most personal of all Lindsay's poems, also explores - and finally satisfies - his own spiritual needs. It is indeed fitting to describe it as Lindsay's swan-song; a last moving lament for his church and his country which, by virtue of its power and passion, inspires author and audience alike.

C O N C L U S I O N

When Henry Charteris published his 1568 edition of Lindsay's works, he noted that it was customary to include a description of the author, his background, appearance and character. However, given that Lindsay had been dead only thirteen years and that many readers still entertained vivid memories of him, Charteris felt it "not greitlie neidful to tary...thairon".[1] While eloquent testimony to Lindsay's sixteenth century reputation, this decision to dispense with the usual formalities can only be a cause of deep regret, not to mention intense frustration, for modern readers. The work of Lindsay's more recent general editors, Chalmers, Laing and above all Douglas Hamer, has done much to compensate for their predecessor's ill-judged assumption, but there are still many details of Lindsay's life which remain unknown today. While surviving records have enabled the reconstruction of the basic outline of Lindsay's life and career, it is clear that such sources will never be able to plug all the gaps. The best way to flesh out the bare bones provided by specific references to Lindsay and perhaps the only way to construct anything like a recognizable 'biography' is to pay much greater attention to the context - the political and cultural milieu - in which Lindsay lived and wrote.

The attractions - and some of the limitations - of such an approach have been amply illustrated by this particular study. For example, by considering some of the general conditions in sixteenth century Scotland, it has been possible to suggest some of the ways in which Lindsay may have obtained his early education. Obviously this is extremely speculative, but to be at least aware of the possibilities guards against false assumptions and goes some way towards informing our reading of Lindsay's poetry. In a similar way, examining what is

---

1 Charteris, The Warkis, fol. 2^{v}. See Hamer, Works, I, p.397.

known of Lindsay's early career in the light of recent work on the minority of James V allows us to appreciate more exactly the fluctuations of his personal fortune and the way in which this coloured his work. With the personal reign of James V, we are on less certain ground as our understanding of the 1530s is that much more incomplete. Nevertheless, it has been possible to begin the tentative reconstruction of court circles, those with whom Lindsay was in contact, the events in which they were involved and the ideas and attitudes which were important to them. While the discussion of James's Court offered in chapters Three and Five may throw up more questions than answers, it goes some way towards identifying the most intriguing features of the period and succeeds at least in pointing the way to future study. Although piecing together Lindsay's career to form any sort of coherent whole involves much conjecture and guess-work, it is nevertheless possible to draw some conclusions concerning the activities in which he was engaged and the attitudes he both encountered and expressed.

Perhaps the most important point to emerge is that Lindsay was first and very often foremost a courtier: "I haif (quod I) bene to this hour/ Sen I could ryde, one Courtiour" (The Monarche, 328-29). Although acknowledging this basic fact, standard biographical accounts rarely accord it its due significance. That Lindsay was for over thirty years intimately associated with the Court - and with the King - is fundamental to any understanding of his work. Too often Lindsay's modern popular reputation (based largely and erroneously upon Ane Satyre of the Thrie Estatis) has obscured the fact that the majority of his works are court poems; the dominant cultural apparatus which shapes and gives expression to his thinking is the court.[2] Simply recognizing

2 The predominance of early editions of The Monarche clearly demonstrate that it was this which so appealed to Scots of the early modern period.

Lindsay's position as a court poet does not, however, go far enough. For as this study has shown, the office (if such it can be called) was by no means straightforward. Court poets occupied an ill-defined niche, offering a service over and above that of their fellow courtiers, making a special bid for attention but receiving no official financial reward for their efforts. Despite this, they still enjoyed a uniquely privileged, even powerful, position. As exponents of a well established literary tradition, they were able to advise and criticize their royal masters to a quite exceptional degree, while over and above this their work also helped shape a king's reputation and even, it could be argued, his very identity. In addition, poetry lent itself to participation in the type of intrigue and debate to which all courts at some stage found themselves subject. We have seen how much of Lindsay's early poetry contributed to the 1530s discussion of religious reform and, on a more secular level, The Confessioun of Bagsche may also have contained coded references to contemporary affairs.

Lindsay's long service at the courts of James IV and James V is important for much more than his development as a court poet. Clearly, his personal situation stimulated an acute and enduring interest in questions of kingship, service and good government. It has rarely been appreciated just how political a writer Lindsay was; one of the aims of this work has been to remedy this neglect. Being at Court meant that Lindsay was attuned to a variety of ways in which political issues were conceived of and discussed. Unsurprisingly, he was strongly attached to a highly conventional view of kingship derived in the first instance from classical authorities, enlarged upon by patristic writers, augmented and hammered home by generations of medieval and Renaissance authors, both Scottish and European. The time honoured ideal of a king supported by the twin pillars of personal virtue and good counsel,

charged with the defence of his realm and the equitable administration of justice within it is vigorously upheld in Lindsay's writing. However, although in many respects deeply conservative, Lindsay's discussion of kingship is not without its own distinctive elements. These are of particular interest when considered in relation to the emerging humanistic court culture associated with the period and to the much more well established value system embodied in the traditional cult of chivalry.

Again, the very fact that Lindsay was at Court during the 1530s is of fundamental importance when we consider the debts he owed to humanist thinking. Although the identification of humanists at Court is still in its early stages, it seems fair to conclude that they existed in sufficient number to contribute a distinctive strand - although by no means the only one - to the multifaceted cultural milieu we conveniently label 'court culture'. Certainly, Lindsay's work bears the imprint of humanist ideas. This is nicely illustrated *inter alia* by his discussion of the education appropriate to a prince, an education in which learning is deemed to hold the key to that personal virtue which guarantees political success. A similar theme emerges from Lindsay's treatment of the Church: virtue through learning (specifically through an enhanced understanding of the nature of the apostolic Church and of true vocation) paves the way to improved spiritual well-being. While an emerging humanistic court culture appears to have exercised a significant influence on Lindsay, it may be a mistake to over emphasize its impact at Court more generally. Important but relatively limited in its effect is probably a more accurate assessment. As we have seen, it existed alongside much more familiar value systems and traditional attitudes continued to matter long after humanism had first announced its presence on the Scottish stage. One of the most important conclusions to emerge from this study

has been the great sense of cultural diversity which characterized the ethos of the Scottish court. Humanism contributed to this, existing as it did alongside a taste for more bawdy entertainment, for sensitive religious verse and expressions of individual piety, for ballads and love lyrics, for chivalric Romances, for knightly jousts and Renaissance ceremony. Despite this rich blend of different appetites and influences, it still seems appropriate to talk of a recognizable court culture. As is vividly demonstrated by Lindsay's work, the presence of the king conditioned much of what went on at court. The courtly arts - from literature to jousting, from music to architecture - were profoundly concerned with enhancing the status of the Crown and it does not seem too far fetched to conclude that it was a cult of kingship (particularly as seen in the reigns of James IV and his son) which bound the disparate strands of court culture together.

One of the most well established *mentalités* of the period, one intimately associated with ideas of kingship, was that expressed by the cult of chivalry. Of course, as herald and later Lyon King of Arms, this was particularly pertinent to Lindsay's thinking. Again, while Lindsay's heraldic status is universally remarked upon, its significance has been too readily overlooked by historians. As Chapter Two demonstrates, examining the nature of heraldic office in the sixteenth century is an extremely rewarding exercise for anyone interested in Lindsay more generally. Not only does it shed light upon some of his specific activities (his embassies abroad, his participation in occasions of public spectacle and his involvement in the administration of the law of arms), but it also provides a further conceptual framework for the formulation of his political and social attitudes. Lindsay's use of the traditional precepts of chivalric ideology - variously endorsed, rejected or adapted - is highly suggestive. It reveals that while the knightly creed continued to

exercise a powerful attraction for many sixteenth century Scots, not least for the Stewart monarchs James IV and James V, others, notably Lindsay himself, were less tolerant of its assumptions. This was especially so in the case of kingship. For many, the concepts of the ideal king and the ideal knight were largely inseparable, the virtues of the latter being particularly necessary in a sovereign duty bound to preserve the freedom of his realm. Although some of Lindsay's early poetry makes this conventional identification, it was one which aroused his growing unease. The Answer to the Kingis Flyting, where images derived from the tiltyard and battle field are used to describe some of the most sordid aspects of royal behaviour, cleverly undermines the traditional ideal of the martial monarch while simultaneously ridiculing the concept of the Romantic knight-lover.

Lindsay's attitude here, in part the product of his humanist sympathies, was reinforced by personal experience of the disastrous effects of war. His conviction that peace was an essential prerequisite for Scottish well-being was strengthened by the savage English incursions of the 1540s, but it is clear that his consternation was rooted in the early days of his career. For Lindsay, the battle of Flodden was, in retrospect at least, a major calamity leading to a period of national misfortune. He was, therefore, extremely anxious to play down - although not to abandon entirely - the idea that the king was chiefly the defender of his kingdom. Every one of his works dealing with kingship concentrates not upon the defence of the realm but almost exclusively upon the royal obligation to ensure the administration of justice within it. Lindsay's work, therefore, offered an important alternative to the more traditional vision of Scottish kingship which stressed the character of the king as armed defender of the nation's political and military independence. Although undoubtedly more timeworn, this was far from irrelevant to Scots in the

sixteenth century and indeed it received possibly its most stirring evocation in the work of the humanist, Hector Boece. Lindsay's was of course neither the only nor the first voice raised against this perspective: John Mair had discussed something very similar in his History of Greater Britain published in 1521. Arguably, however, Lindsay did more than most to popularize such ideas and, unquestionably, in the period of the Rough Wooing when Scotland had faced minority rule, enemy invasion and virtual semi-occupation, Boece's confident exposition of Scottish kingship - indeed of the Scottish national identity - would have rung very hollow. Lindsay's on the other hand offered a more realistic, arguably more compelling, expression of the ideals of government. Moreover, in spite of a deep-seated reluctance to jettison the king from his political thinking, Lindsay's vision of society and kingship after 1542 took account of the fact that Scotland no longer had an adult male king, nor the prospect of one for some time to come. Although Ane Satyre of the Thrie Estatis forcibly illustrates the time-honoured association between the personal virtue of the monarch and the good government of his realm, Rex Humanitas is gradually pushed to the political margins and the three estates - formally bound to John the Commonweal and guided by Veritie, the Word of God - have a correspondingly more important role to play.

Lindsay's unease with traditional chivalric tenets extended beyond his analysis of kingship. This is hardly surprising. After all, the mores of chivalry applied to all of society's leaders, aristocratic as well as royal. On first reading, however, it may seem that Lindsay represents a disappointing source for Renaissance attitudes towards the nobility. While he discusses the need for virtuous counsellors, we look to his works in vain for explicit references to the role of Scotland's traditional secular partners in government, the magnates. Perhaps, though, Lindsay's silences say more than his verses ever

could. The failure to characterize Temporalitie as a member of an essentially military aristocracy (in marked contrast it should be noted to the 1540 Epiphany drama and, for example, The Complaynt of Scotland) hints that traditional expectations and assumptions were in a state of some confusion. Lindsay's attitude to education also suggests that he was anxious to play down the chivalric - specifically the martial - elements of a training for social leadership.[3] As we have seen, this idea was most comprehensively expounded in The Historie of Squyer Meldrum.[4] Of particular interest here is the way in which Lindsay chooses not to reject the chivalric ideology out of hand, but to incorporate some of its fundamental concepts (notably that of service in and for the community) into a new understanding of social responsibility. This development (possibly inspired by English chivalric sources) offered Scots an alternative manner of viewing and expressing traditional notions of service. No longer was the stress upon duty to a military overlord (or even to the lady of chivalric Romance); in Lindsay's work 'heroes' were to be found in the local community, administering justice, dispensing charity and generally ensuring public well-being. Another important point to emerge is that this new lay servant of the commonweal is (as Squyer Meldrum illustrates) not necessarily nobly born. This is especially interesting as, of course, Lindsay's social origins were very similar to those of his old friend. Indeed, not only Lindsay but several lay, non-aristocratic household and government officials (men like Learmonth of Dairsie, Kirkcaldy of Grange, Erskine of Brechin, Bellenden of Auchinol and Balnaves of Halhill) were making their way in the service

3 Admittedly, Lindsay only discussed the education of a prince but it seems fair to conclude that he, in common with other sixteenth century commentators, would have drawn few distinctions between a princely and an aristocratic education.

4 See Chapter Six.

of the commonweal at this time. While it is certainly premature to talk of the eclipse of the aristocracy in government either national or local, Lindsay's work suggests that the ideological foundations for the rise of the 'men of the middling sort', the lairds, lawyers and ministers of the seventeenth century, were beginning to be laid several generations previously.[5]

Lindsay's ideas concerning service chimed in very naturally with the idea of the commonweal, an idea to which sixteenth century Scots were growing increasingly accustomed. When Lindsay's character, John the Commonweal, made his first appearance in 1526, the idea of the commonweal was a relative newcomer to Scottish political discourse. By the middle of the century and the performance of Ane Satyre, he was sufficiently well established for Lindsay to accord him only the briefest of introductions to what appears to have been a socially mixed audience, one whose political sophistication must have varied quite considerably. Lindsay's work provides an excellent source for this process of familiarization. Indeed, it is tempting to go further and conclude that it was his work which did much to consolidate the commonweal's claim to a pre-eminent place in the political vocabulary of Renaissance Scotland. The care and defence of the commonweal, a word which evoked not only local well-being but also in some respects the nation itself, was, according to Lindsay, the most solemn duty of the three estates. Given Lindsay's personal convictions, it is ironic that the idea of the commonweal was to emerge as one of the most potent

---

5 The emergence of this class is discussed in Michael Lynch, Scotland: A New History (Edinburgh, 1991) pp.247-62. Lynch argues that while the political and social (as opposed to the financial) status of the nobility was undiminished, the circumstances of the wars of the Covenant provided the stimulus for the emergence of the 'middling sort'. It does seem, however, that for the opportunity to be grasped, there must have been at least some ideological preparation.

rallying calls for those aiming to rouse their fellow countrymen to take up arms against the representative of sovereign authority.[6]

As we have seen, war represented a grievous affront to Lindsay's political sensibilities, but given that the conflicts of the early sixteenth century were largely the result of Anglo-Scottish hostility, perhaps we ought to consider whether Lindsay's beliefs derived in fact from a pro-English, rather than a purely pacifist, stance. In any case, the influence of England upon many of Lindsay's attitudes (particularly in the religious sphere) is so important that it is well worth analysis. With regard to the problems of warfare, it seems fair to conclude that the graphic descriptions of national misgovernment, social dislocation and individual suffering presented by Lindsay confirms the argument that it was war itself, irrespective of the adversary, which he found so abhorrent. Peace, it should be recalled, was the cornerstone on which Dame Rememberance's vision of a thriving nation was built. Nevertheless, there is unquestionably something to be said for the idea that Lindsay favoured a pro-English foreign policy. Strongly critical of the abrogation of the Treaties of Greenwich, he went so far as to support some form of dynastic union believing it not only possible but essential if centuries of hostility were to be brought to an end. His Armorial Manuscript (penned significantly enough in 1542) to which Boece's account of the racial origins of some of Scotland's leading families is added may also have been designed to show his fellow countrymen that conflict between Englishman and Scot contradicted a common heritage and a shared ancestry.[7]

---

6 Mason, "Covenant and Commonweal", p.110.

7 As a new arrival at Court, Lindsay was associated with the household of Margaret Tudor. While it is possible that his English sympathies date from period, it is unlikely that Lindsay had a great personal attachment to the woman who dismissed him from his position in 1524.

Although Lindsay's support of dynastic union may have been in part a response to the problems of female minority rule, it was his support for the religious settlement established by Henry VIII which lay at the heart of his commitment to the English cause.[8] Admittedly, the vision of a programme of religious reform led by the secular authorities - and by the king in particular - is found in Lindsay's work, most notably The Complaynt, even before the 1530s. It is, however, in Ane Satyre of the Thrie Estatis (1552) that the idea is most comprehensively worked out and here Lindsay takes his cue very much from developments south of the border. Ane Satyre introduces to its Scottish audience an important political element (clearly derived from England) to what had hitherto been a largely Erasmian call for moral reform and improved clerical standards. Not only are proposals for reform articulated much more precisely (for instance, the specific complaints against feuing and the consistory courts, the abolition of death duties and the institution of clerical marriage), but Lindsay also suggests how they might be put into practice. As the presence of Divyne Correctioun and Veritie makes plain, the process of reform is sanctioned by God and by Scripture. It requires no further authority and, like the Reformation settlements in England and in Denmark (which country may also have influenced Lindsay's thinking), it brooks no external - that is papal - interference. It is obvious that Lindsay was fully aware of the novel elements he was bringing to the religious debate and that his suggestions went appreciably further than anything hitherto proposed (such as, for example, the measures enacted by the reforming provincial councils of the Church under the direction of Archbishop Hamilton):

---

8 Of course, these policies altered over time and Lindsay's sympathy varied accordingly but there is no doubt but that he supported their general thrust. (For example, Lindsay would have taken issue with the 1543 Act for the Advancement of True Religion imposing severe restrictions on who was to read the Bible.)

> For quhy sic reformatione as I weine
> Into Scotland was never hard nor seine
> (Ane Satyre, 3721-22)

The introduction of a new politicized critique was not Lindsay's only contribution to Scottish religious opinion in the pre-Reformation period. The vehement antipapal sentiment found in his later work (most notably the lurid description of moral putrefaction at the papal court in The Monarche), points to a rising tide of antipapalism in Scotland. Such evidence as we have suggests that in the first half of the sixteenth century antipapalism, although present in patches, was not particularly widespread. Lindsay's work, however, suggests that by the 1550s there was an eager audience for scurrilous antipapal material and, indeed, he himself may have done much to reinforce such sentiments. Another area in which Lindsay's work (again chiefly The Monarche but also to a lesser extent Ane Satyre) helped disseminate new ideas was with regard to apocalyptic thinking. Although Lindsay was not the only nor indeed the first Scot of his generation to be influenced by the type of Protestant apocalypticism developing in England and on the Continent, he was one of its most noteworthy proponents. Arguably, The Monarche played a crucial role in preparing the Scottish psyche for the reception of the apocalyptic ideas which, as Arthur Williamson has shown, were to be so decisive in shaping political and theological convictions in the post Reformation period.[9]

Noting Lindsay's adoption of apocalyptic ideas brings us to some of the most important conclusions to be drawn regarding the use of his work as a source for Scottish religious culture in the pre-Reformation period. Firstly, religious opinion during these decades was in a state of flux. Confessional boundaries were imprecise and men were profoundly influenced by a wide range of ideas and influences. In

---

9 Williamson, Scottish National Consciousness in the Age of James VI.

Lindsay, for example, we can see the importance of traditional expressions of piety, of orthodox programmes for reform, of the politico-religious attractions of schism and of Protestant apocalypticism. As this study has sought to demonstrate, it makes little sense to think of Lindsay as some sort of litmus test either for the advance of Protestant opinion in sixteenth century Scotland or for the collapse of the established Church. The long-running debate concerning Lindsay's precise confessional affinity is in many respects a red herring. What we do find in Lindsay's work, however, is intriguing evidence of a process of enquiry, discussion and debate. It suggests too something of the character of that debate. His early poems, The Dreme, The Complaynt and The Testament of the Papyngo, vividly illustrate the preoccupation with religious affairs found at the Scottish Court. Here, the lead provided by the King - intentionally or otherwise - was crucial. The promoter of limited monastic reform (and also an eager exploiter of monastic revenue), James was keen to assert royal rights at the expense of papal authority and to offer his erratic patronage to a number of household and government officials with Reforming beliefs. On the other hand, he could be a stout - if equally capricious - supporter of the clerical hierarchy; his personal faith seems to have been entirely orthodox and it generally suited him politically to support the Catholic powers. In balancing these different factors, James V was playing a delicate game, one his unexpected death brought to an abrupt and spectacular end. It has often been said that minorities lift the veil on factional alignments and longstanding antagonisms and this seems to have been the case in 1542. Initially, the Reformers at Court were able to grasp the political initiative but, before the year was out, this had slipped beyond reach. This was the point at which Lindsay's long association with the Court was broken. Thereafter, experiences in his own locality

were the decisive influence upon his religious development, increasing his awareness of the developing religious controversy and its potential for civil unrest. Unlike John Knox and his fellow Castilians, Lindsay could not sanction the violent call for reform embodied in the premature putsch of 1547 and his later works again offered Scotland an alternative perspective, this time a return to the process of debate and persuasion in which he had participated during the previous decade. Now, however, the call for repentance and reform was given added urgency by the rapid approach of the Day of Judgement. These ideas are most clearly articulated in The Monarche, an enormously important source for religious attitudes on the eve of the Reformation. Of course, what it presents is essentially the vision of one individual, but it is tempting to conclude that the poem offers a more wide-ranging view of Scottish spirituality in the pre-Reformation period. Far too readily written off as tedious and overlong, The Monarche deserves to be recognized as the most important, most stimulating, of all Lindsay's works.[10]

On first sight, we might think the profound spiritual concerns of The Monarche somewhat at odds with Lindsay's secular background. However, as we have seen, all men of the sixteenth century were deeply concerned about religious matters and, indeed, all human affairs were largely located within a spiritual and ethical framework. Reconciling the spiritual and the secular is in many ways the key to Lindsay's work. Lindsay has long been of interest to religious scholars but, as this study has demonstrated, he represents a vital source for a great many other aspects of Scottish culture during the Renaissance. The importance of his long association with the Stewart Court can not be over-emphasised. Nor is it inappropriate to keep the image of Lindsay

10 For an example of such a dismissal, see: Smith, The French Background to Middle Scots Literature, p.137.

the herald fixed firmly in our minds. The silver *caduceus* carried by the herald in the Seton Armorial (Figure Two) vividly illustrates the conventionally held link between these messengers of earthly kings and Mercury, messenger of the Gods. Mercury was, however, more than a simple herald. Amongst his other traditionally accepted attributes, he was also the god of eloquence. This is not the place to judge Lindsay's artistic achievement or poetic merit. There is no doubt, however, that despite some heavy-handed, sometimes plodding composition, Lindsay wrote verse of great lyrical beauty, of considerable humour and of immense satirical force. But, we can not see Lindsay simply as a Scottish Mercury. As we have seen, the spiritual dimension of his work is enormously important and his evangelical soul would surely have recoiled from such a pagan identification:

> Withoute ony vaine inuocatioun
> To Minerua or to Melpominee
> Nor yitt wyll I mak supplicatioun,
> For help, to Cleo nor Calipoliee:
> Sick marde Musis may mak me no supplee.
> (The Monarche, 216-20)

Nevertheless, the image is a tempting one and if we were to translate Mercury into a Christian context, then we might think of someone who, combining the gifts of eloquence and communication, was someone very like David Lindsay.

A P P E N D I C E S

Appendix 1: A Short Summary of Lindsay's Works

Appendix 2: The Lindsay Family Tree

Appendix 3: A Concise Chronology

Appendix 1

A Short Summary of Lindsay's Works

The Dreme of Schir Dauid Lyndesay of the Mount, Familiar Seruitour to our Souerane Lord Kyng Iames the Fyft (The Dreme)

Date: 1526? (See Chapter One.)

Length: 1134 lines.

The Dreme falls into four main sections, the third being further subdivided. The first part, "The Epistil", firmly establishes that this is an advice-to-princes type poem, addressed directly to James V, and offered by one who has served the King since the latter's childhood. Having laid out the personal background to the poem, Lindsay then sets the scene to provide the poetic framework within which he discusses his political ideas. This, "The Prolong", describes a bleak January night when the narrator, unable to sleep, takes a walk along the seashore. His encounter with Dame Flora "in dule weid dissagysit", prompts an eloquent lament for the joys of summer which recalls more traditional 'May-morning' descriptions (78). In sombre mood, the narrator hides himself in a cave where eventually he falls asleep and dreams. The traditional genre of the dream-voyage incorporating both a physical journey and an advance in learning is successfully exploited by Lindsay as a framework for his ideas concerning kingship.

The narrator recounts his meeting with the smiling Dame Rememberance who, without further ado, whisks him away on a voyage through the cosmos. Passing first to Hell, he sees amongst the damned representatives from the whole of society. Querying the reasons for their perdition, he learns of the vicious acts of prelates, princes, queens and "Comoun peple" (303). Following a brief visit through Limbo, the pair pass through the four elements, the planets, the moon and the sun, arriving finally in Heaven. Despite acknowledging human inadequacy in the face of such divine majesty, the poet-narrator attempts the description of the angelic hierarchy, the Virgin, the saints and blessed Trinity. Reluctantly, he is dragged back to earth which Dame Rememberance agrees to show him "all at one sycht" (624). Two short sections entitled "The Qvantitie of the Erth" and "The Deuision of the Eirth" list the physical dimensions of the world and its most important kingdoms, while "Of Paradice" discloses the location and nature of Eden. After this education in cosmology, the focus of the poem becomes much more specific with the narrator asking to be shown Scotland. Confused as to why a country so "gude and fair" should suffer such miserable poverty, he turns to Dame Rememberance for an explanation (807). She ascribes the situation to the "Wantyng of Iustice, polycie, and peace" which in turn is the result of poor government (860).

At this point, they catch sight of a ragged fleeing figure - John the Commonweal - who, when pressed as to the reasons for his plight, delivers "The Complaynt of the Comoun Weill of Scotland". His confrontations with a whole host of vices effectively suggest the moral degeneracy of the nation, particularly of society's leaders. Vowing not to return until the accession of "ane gude auld prudent Kyng", John leaves the country (1005). This is the signal for another farewell as

Dame Rememberance leads the narrator back to his nook in the rocks. Finally, awoken by the cannon of a passing ship, he hurries home to pen the details of his vision. The poem ends with "The Exhortatioun to the Kyngis Grace", a traditional yet thoughtful and heartfelt discussion of kingship which urges James V to cleave to the cardinal virtues, to seek good counsel and to attend to the welfare of his soul.

The Complaynt of Schir Dauid Lindesay (The Complaynt)

Date: 1530. (Suggested by the reference to "Auld Willie Dile" (85) Hamer, Works, III, pp.47-49.)

Length: 510 lines.

In The Complaynt, Lindsay combines an amusing petition for royal favour with some serious comments on the nature of good government. The poem opens with Lindsay bemoaning his lack of advancement at Court. He does not blame James, for, unlike others, he has not raised his voice in flattery but instead has quietly devoted himself to the service of the King. He recalls past duties caring for the infant James and his confident hope of reward. His dreams were however shattered by the events of the minority. While his account of the various regency administrations is fairly accurate, Lindsay's portrayal of events is highly coloured. In vivid, alliterative language, he describes his own dismissal, rails against the termination of James's education and recalls how the King was seduced into vicious living by immoral and irresponsible courtiers who cared only for their own material advancement. A change of administration (that of Angus) proved, if possible, even worse. The Church in particular suffered as prelates, blinded by worldly ambition, meddled in secular affairs and neglected their spiritual vocation. The nation was rent by civil war and the Court became the resort of traitors, oppressors, murders and thieves. Eventually however, the Douglases were driven from Scotland and James's assumption of personal authority allows Lindsay to offer a reiteration of the advice provided in The Dreme. Here, however, he paints a picture of James already ruling with "The foure gret verteous Cardinalis", having restored order to the kingdom (379). Only the Church still awaits attention. At this point, Lindsay launches upon a scathing attack of the clergy, calling on James to put a stop to such practices "As superstitious pylgramagis,/ [And] Prayand to grawin Ymagis" (421-22). Finally, Lindsay returns to his earlier petition. Although his tone is at first much lighter - the mock request for a loan with fantastical terms of repayment - he ends on a more serious note, urging James to recall his responsibilities before God and reminding him of God's judgement of wicked rulers.

The Testament and Complaynt of our Souerane Lordis Papyngo, Kyng Iames the Fyft, quhilk lyith sore woundit, and may not dee, tyll euery man haue hard quhat he sayis. Quharefor, gentyll redaris, haist yow, that he wer out of paine (The Testament of the Papyngo)

Date: 1530. (According to the colophon of a 1538 edition, Hamer, Works, III, p.64.)

Length: 1185 lines.

Lindsay begins this poem with a consideration of what he might have written had he "Ingyne Angelicall", recalling those poets, past and present, who excelled at their art (1). Lamenting that they have exhausted the store of eloquence and subject matter, he describes his tale of a wounded parrot as matter "rude", fit only for "rurall folk" (64 & 66). The "Complaynt" which follows opens with a proverb - "Quho clymmis to hycht, perforce his feit mon faill" - which immediately proclaims this a fall-of-princes type morality tale. In some detail, Lindsay describes the Parrot and the balmy morning on which she meets her death as, ignoring her keeper's warnings, she climbs to the very top of a tree from where she is blown to the ground. There is some comedy in the contrast between Lindsay's extravagant grief and the picture of a fat parrot falling from a twig, but the essential seriousness of the moral message is reasserted by the Parrot herself who repents her unnatural ambition and realises how fickle a mistress Fortune is.

In his grief, the poet fancies he hears the Papyngo speak to both the King and "Hir brether of courte". Her advice is presented in two 'epistles', the first of which, to James V, is almost a mini-mirror-for-princes. Here are described the pursuits proper for a king and a (regrettably) brief educational programme. In addition, the parrot urges James to look to rule himself well, to work with good counsel and to treat his barons with mercy and justice. To her fellow courtiers, the Parrot stresses the lesson to be learnt from her own fall. The uncertainties of political fortune are illustrated by the careers of past Scottish kings and nobles, of figures such as James Beaton, Cardinal Wolsey and Francis I. While the Parrot urges her colleagues to fix their eyes only on the Court of Christ, this renunciation of worldly care sits uneasily in the poem as a whole. Only the dying Parrot is able to bid farewell to actual courts, recalling the various royal residences in which she has lived.

At this point, the poem changes tack and Lindsay embarks upon a virulent satire upon some of the abuses found in the Scottish Church. This is focused on three birds, a pye (magpie), a raven and a gled (kite) who disguised as a cannon regular, a monk and a friar arrive to attend to the dying Parrot. It is soon clear, however, that they care not for her eternal soul but for her material goods. During the exchange between the Papyngo and her confessors, the Papyngo is asked why clerics are generally held in such low esteem. Her perspicacity heightened by imminent death, the Parrot delivers a long allegory illustrating the corruption of the Church by property, riches and sensuality. In response to this, the raven draws attention to the culpability of princes who distribute benefices amongst unworthy candidates. He calls for improved education and a greater devotion to preaching. Finally, her end near, the Parrot distributes her goods and makes her last confession. At this point, the avarice and duplicity of the avian clerics is shockingly revealed. With no thought for her bequests, they fall upon her body, devouring it "Quhill scho is hote"

(1151). The final two stanzas reintroduce the authorial voice, but the reiteration of the mock belief in the poem's 'rudeness' only underlines that it is the immorality of the clerics - not the bluntness of the poet - which is so barbarous.

The Complaint and Publict Confessioun of the Kingis Auld Hound, callit Bagsche, directit to Bawte, the Kingis best belouit Dog, and his companyeonis (The Complaint of Bagsche)

Date: 1530-42.

Length: 224 lines.

Like The Testament of the Papyngo, this amusing yet nevertheless seriously intended beast-fable offers a commentary on the fickleness and unpleasantness of a life spent at court. It takes the form of advice given by an old, once-favoured, royal hound to the younger dogs who currently enjoy good fortune. Bagsche's description of his career is characterized by aggression, brutality and ingratitude; yet these are the very qualities which bring him to the King's attention and secure his advancement. Eventually, however, he goes too far but, although condemned to hang, his old age procures a pardon from an over-indulgent monarch. Yet, as an outcast, Bagsche finds life far from easy as his foes are out "to fang" and "doun dang" him (68 & 69). Offering his own experiences as a moral exemplar, he urges his fellow hounds to mend their lives, to curb their ambition and to refrain from wrong-doing.

The Answer quhilk Schir Dauid Lindesay maid to the Kingis Flyting (The Flyting)

Date: a.1537. (References to a future French marriage.)

Length: 70 lines.

Traditionally, flyting was a form of poetic duel characterized by the vigour of its alliterative language and the effect of its vituperative insults. While flyting with the King posed some problems, Lindsay's poem still provides a remarkably spicy view of court life. Lindsay begins by referring to James's opening sally (probably a real composition) which allows him to praise the King's poetic gifts and at the same time to denigrate his own. He also pours scorn on his own performance as a lover, a reject from the court of Venus. And yet, it soon becomes clear that this is not necessarily a fault as his description of the amorous antics found at the court of James V do not seem in any way noble but simply sordid. Using imagery heavily reliant upon the battlefield, artillery in particular, Lindsay emphasises James's intemperance and profligacy. The account of an unseemly coupling with a kitchen maid suggests not only that his conduct is undignified but also that it might lead to physical disease. Finally, having proved his skill in the field, Lindsay modestly denies that he can flyte, he offers a final warning against 'labouring with the lance', and, ending on an optimistic note, he refers to the rumour that a 'shield' able to withstand James's "dintis" (69), that is a wife able to curb his sexual excesses, may soon arrive from France.

The Deploratioun of the Deith of Quene Magdalene (The Deploratioun)

Date: 1537.

Length: 203 lines. (Madelaine died July 1537.)

The Deploratioun is a tribute not just to the dead French queen but also to French literary culture. Typically the deploration was used for obituary verse, to honour the dead and press home a moral message. Lindsay's deploration, less latinate, less high-flown than most French examples, seems more designed for Scottish tastes, in particular those of James V. As well as a tribute to Madelaine, the poem also celebrates the kingship of James V, casting him in the role of chivalric hero. The Deploratioun opens with a lament for Madelaines's death (particularly as she died without issue). It recalls the love that existed between the royal couple, comparing them to such legendary figures as Leander and Penelope. Casting his mind back to their wedding, Lindsay provides a detailed description both of the celebrations which accompanied James's entry into Paris and of those which should have greeted his bride on her arrival in Scotland. Now, however, bright clothes are exchanged for sable, songs of welcome are turned to dirges. Again, this offers Lindsay the opportunity to muse on the inconstancies of worldly fortune and the necessity of nourishing religious faith. Nevertheless, the poem ends on a more hopeful note. Not only will poets immortalize Madelaine and thereby conquer death but her memory shall serve to "Keip ay twa Realmes, in Peice and Amite" (203).

The Iusting betuix Iames Watsoun and Ihone Barbour, seruitouris to King Iames the Fyft (The Iusting)

Date: 1538-40. (See Chapter Two.)

Length: 68 lines.

In this short poem written for the entertainment of the court, Lindsay uses specific and recognizable figures within a highly traditional comic genre (Watson was a barber in the King's service, Barbour, described as a leach and a gentleman of the chamber appears in the records in the latter capacity). The mock tournament described here has strong affinities with, for example, Dunbar's Turnament. The joust takes place in St Andrews on Whit Monday before the King, Queen and assembled court and it is probable that Lindsay produced this poem to entertain those assembled there for tournaments in 1538, 1539 or 1540. The racy metre and alliterative language make this a lively work and, while it may have been partly malicious in intention, the clumsy antics of the two unsuitable combatants serve principally to entertain. Indeed, the final line establishes the essentially good humoured tone of the poem, thanking God that no blood was shed.

Ane Suplication Directit frome Schir Dauid Lyndesay, Knycht, to the Kyngis Grace, in Contemptioun of Syde Tallis (In Contemptioun of Syde Tallis)

Date: 1537-42. (A reference to the Queen (157) places it after James's marriage.)

Length: 176 lines.

This comic petition, directed against fashion - specifically long gowns which trail in the dust - is again designed as a piece of court entertainment. The subject matter is traditional but amusingly presented. The comedy arises from a combination of the lively language, the disparity between the poet's outrage and the trivial nature of its source, and the individual scenes he describes. These include a nun who to protect her tails hoists her gown up above her "lillie quhyte hois" (58), men who reel from the dirty thighs of their sweethearts and the collection of rubbish gathered up by such gowns (which, Lindsay asserts, could easily provide supper for a sow). The false modesty which prohibits showing an inch of ankle (it is, Lindsay suggests nothing more than the Devil's own pride) is also responsible for ladies covering their faces, another practice he roundly condemns. Confident of the support of all but the most "wantoun glorious hure", he ends by urging James to issue a proclamation outlawing such practices (172).

The Tragedie of the Umquhyle Maist Reverend Father Dauid, be the Mercy of God, Cardinale and Archibyschope of Sanctandrous. And of the haill Realme of Scotlande Primate, Legate, and Chancelare, and Administrator of the Byschoprik of Merapoys in France. And Commendator perpetuall of the Abay of Aberbrothok (The Tragedie of the Cardinal)

Date: p.1547. (A reference to the Cardinal lying unburied for over seven months (267) makes the earliest possible date of composition January 1547.)

Length: 434 lines.

The Tragedie of the Cardinal falls into four separate sections. "The Prolog" opens with a description of the author, reading quietly in his study. The book he is reading, Boccaccio's *De Casibus Virorum Illustrium* (possibly known to Lindsay via Lydgate's Fall of Princes) comes alive when a ghostly wounded figure appears before him and introduces himself as David Beaton. "The Tragedie" is related to the author by Beaton himself. He describes his career in the church; how, driven by pride and ambition, he rose ever higher until he effectively ruled the whole kingdom. But it is soon clear that Beaton's "actis honorabyll" were in fact no such thing (73). He recounts how, to display his liberality, he would gamble at cards and dice, how he sabotaged hopes of Anglo-Scottish amity by dissuading James from meeting Henry VIII at York, how this resulted in war, dearth, hunger, and even the melancholy death of the King. The Tragedie of the Cardinal also provides the first published reference to Beaton's alleged forgery of James's will. Recalling his captivity in the early months of the Regency administration, Beaton explains that far from instilling a sense of humility, this only served to fire his ambition yet further. When released, he raised havoc throughout the kingdom, riding against the Governor, bringing over Lennox simply to discomfort

him and forcing the abrogation of the treaty with England. The resultant wars he acknowledges as entirely his fault. He also confesses that all his actions were dictated by loyalty to the King of France, that he deceived Arran and imprisoned his son, that he plotted against Angus and his brother and that he persecuted "All fauoraris of the auld and new Testament" (218). Beaton is brought to such a point that he believes his position impregnable but his allies, his riches and even his enormously fortified Castle offer no protection against his downfall. Retribution when it comes is swift with the assassination being presented as akin to an act of God. The final description of Beaton's "ded and deformit Carioun" displayed as a public spectacle sets the seal on his humiliation (216).

The poem ends, not with a return to the author, but with two pieces of advice (of roughly equal length) directed "To the Prelates" and "To the Prencis". Beaton urges his fellow clerics to consider his example and mend their ways. He stresses the need to return to the simple practices of the early Church, to care less for temporal possessions, to renounce gambling and whoring and, above all, to preach the Word of God. He remembers his own ignorance and failure and begs his colleagues to take heed of his example.

Princes are castigated by Beaton for providing unsuitable candidates to benefices. He stresses the need to promote the learned and virtuous rather than the ill-educated and immoral pointing out that he himself only rose to eminence as a result of such practices. Freely confessing his own ignorance of spiritual matters, he acknowledges that he and his like have "done the warld abuse" and he repents of ever becoming a churchman (405). After a critical dig at nuns who are no better than whores, Beaton bids farewell with a rousing call for reformation directed to "eueryilk christinit kyng" (421).

The Historie of ane Nobil and Wailyeand Squyer, William Meldrum, umquhyle Laird of Cleische and Bynnis (The Historie of Squyer Meldrum)

The Testament of the Nobil and Vailyeand Squyer Williame Meldrum of the Bynnis

Date: 1550 (Meldrum died 1550. For biographical details, see: Hamer, Works, III, pp.177-81.)

Length: 1594 lines. (The Testament, printed distinct from The History, numbers 253 lines.)

By introducing the life-history of his old friend, Squire Meldrum, with reference to more celebrated accounts of knightly heroes, Lindsay draws attention both to the chivalric content of the poem and to its uneasy relationship with the realities of life. The squire's career falls into two distinct sections dealing first with his military achievements and secondly with his romantic involvement with the Lady of Gleneagles. Four episodes are chosen to illustrate the Squire's exploits in the field. The first of these is the naval expedition against England launched in 1513. It is during the sack of Carrickfergus that Meldrum witnesses an assault on a young woman. Although he repulses her attackers with ease, he finds it harder to deflect the love of the grateful young girl whom he ultimately abandons in spite of accepting her ring. From Ireland, Meldrum travels to Northern France, the site of the campaign led by Henry VIII. When the

English champion, Master Talbert, issues a challenge to the assembled French and Scottish troops, it is Meldrum who accepts it and who, despite the disparity in age and experience, wins the combat. Described in considerable detail, the joust vividly evokes the type of scene with which Lindsay, as a herald, would be very familiar. Meldrum's third adventure also takes place in France when he repels a gang of Englishmen who attack the house of "Our worthie Scottis" (632). Although his exploits earn him renown throughout France, Meldrum determines to return to Scotland. However, en route, his ship is attacked by an English galleon and a bloody fight ensues. The magnanimity the victorious Meldrum shows towards his defeated foe recalls his earlier treatment of Master Talbert, underlining the chivalrous character of the squire-hero.

With Meldrum's return to Scotland, the poem changes direction, describing his encounter with the Lady of Gleneagles and their subsequent love affair. Although Lindsay employs many of the motifs found in Romance literature, the descriptions of the physical consummation of their love and the cosy intimacy of their domestic life offer a more realistic picture. However, the couple's happiness is destroyed by a neighbouring knight who, determined to marry the Lady to a gentleman of his choosing, ambushes Meldrum. On this occasion, sheer force of numbers overcomes the valiant squire who is left for dead. The Governor's lieutenant, De La Bastie, a former comrade of Meldrum's, has his assailants thrown into prison. However, his own murder paves the way for their release and when they finally meet their end, their murder is simply another example of anarchic violence. Reality intrudes again when the Lady of Gleneagles (despite her supposed passion) leaves the Squire and is married off elsewhere. Meldrum himself learns from the doctors who dress his wounds and charitably uses his new-found skills in the care of the poor.

Lindsay ends his History by offering a corrective to the Romantic tales of chivalric adventure, describing instead how Meldrum spends the rest of his life in the service of the Lord of the Byres, dispensing justice and charity to the community. The biographical account of the Squire's life is followed by what is almost a separate work, The Testament of the Nobil and Vailyeand Squyer Williame Meldrum of the Bynnis. Here, Meldrum himself is allowed to speak as he makes the arrangements for his death. Lindsay, the poet, becomes instead the friend entrusted with the funeral arrangements. In some considerable detail, The Testament describes an elaborate chivalric internment, the pomp of which seems to contradict Meldrum's statement that he never cared for riches or rent. Similarly, the piety which commends his spirit to God is set against a ceremony which evokes Mars, Venus and Mercury. Bidding farewell to his companions, particularly Lord Lindsay, to the ladies of France, the Maid of Carrickfergus and the Lady of Gleneagles, the Squire offers a prayer for his soul and with this, equally his own prayer, Lindsay ends a work which combines an affectionate tribute to an old friend with a more subtle critique of the chivalric lifestyle he enjoyed in his youth.

Ane Pleasand Satyre of the Thrie Estatis in Commendatioun of Vertew and Vituperatioun of vyce (Ane Satyre of the Thrie Estatis)

Date: 1552. (Suggested by references to the Pater Noster Quarrel (Nov. 1551), and to the Schmlkaldic war (1550-52). Also the Cupar Banns refer to a performance on Tuesday 7th June which again points to 1552.)

Length: 4630 lines.

The Cupar Banns (277 lines)

This short piece, known only from the Bannatyne Manuscript, announces the play, the time and place of its performance and something of its content. In addition, the audience is entertained by a motley yet comical collection of stock characters: the hen-pecked husband; Finlaw of the Futband, a braggart and coward in the *miles gloriosus* tradition; the fool; and an old man cuckolded by his youthful wife. The bawdy entertainment over, the Nuntius repeats his message, ensuring that news of the play reaches the community.

Ane Satyre of the Thrie Estatis

The earliest complete specimen we have of a Scottish play, Ane Satyre is also our only example of Lindsay's work as a dramatist. The text survives in two forms, as preserved in The Bannatyne Manuscript (1568) and as printed by Robert Charteris in 1602. The relationship between the two texts and indeed to what Lindsay actually wrote is highly problematic. Charteris's is the lengthier, probably more complete, certainly more standardized, version and his is the text (as edited by Hamer) used here.[1]

The play is introduced by the herald Diligence who indicates what the audience may expect and urges them not to take offence at what they will see. The drama is divided into two parts of unequal length. The first is an allegorical morality tale centred around the character of Rex Humanitas. Although filled with noble aspirations, the young king, "*tanquam tabula rasa*", is easily corrupted (224). In the first instance he is led astray by his ignorant, yet not fundamentally evil, courtiers (Wantonnes, Placebo, and Solace) who introduce him to the promiscuous Dame Sensualitie. While the onstage action focuses on the sexual corruption of the King, it is important to grasp that the allegory is much wider in its implications and what we are seeing here is nothing less than the complete subjugation of reason to appetite.

The arrival of Gude-Counsall, of late an exile from Scotland, suggests the prospect of better rule but such hopes are dashed by the entrance of the three Vices; Flatterie, Falset and Dissait. Disguising themselves as clerics they perform a blasphemous mock baptism, emerging as Sapience, Devotioun and Discretioun respectively. Under these names, they are taken on by Rex Humanitas and, secure in his favour, they are able to prevent Gude-Counsall from gaining an audience with the King. Gude-Counsall is not, however, the only one seeking Rex

---

1 For a fuller discussion of the 1602 edition, see: Marie Axton, "*Ane Satyre of the Thrie Estatis*: The First Edition and its Reception", in A Day Estivall, pp.21-34.

Humanitas. As the latter lies in debauched sleep, Veritie enters with words of advice concerning the importance of justice and moral rectitude. Fearful lest they be exposed, the Vices approach Spiritualitie and persuade them to apprehend Veritie as a heretic. This they are eager to do as she bears with her an English New Testament which they see, not as the Word of God, but as evidence of her Lutheranism. Refusing to recant her position, Veritie is consigned to the stocks. At this point, Chastitie arrives seeking shelter, only to be turned away by the ladies of religion, the lords of Spiritualitie and, in an amusing scene, by the wives of the craftsmen who had agreed to lodge her. When she finally appeals to Rex Humanitas, the animosity of his paramour lands her too in the stocks. Although the Vices appear to have triumphed, news of the imminent arrival of Divyne Correctioun causes them to flee, hiding themselves amongst churchmen, merchants and craftsmen. Their parting act is to steal the royal treasure, but there is little honour amongst these thieves, and they swiftly fall out over the division of the spoils.

The arrival of Divyne Correctioun, the self-proclaimed emissary of God, inaugurates the reform both of the King and his kingdom. Ordering the release of Veritie and Chastitie, he rouses the King from his lust-induced slumber, reminds him of God's judgment of wicked rulers and casts out Dame Sensualitie (who seeks refuge with Spiritualitie). The courtiers are rebuked but pardoned their ignorance and the King disabused concerning the identity of his false counsellors. In their stead, Divyne Correctioun installs Gude-Counsall, Chastitie and Veritie and bids Rex Humanitas call a parliament. The first part of the play ends with Diligence summoning the three estates and announcing a break in the proceedings.

Before the action resumes with the arrival of the estates, there is a series of episodes centring on a poor man and a pardoner. Although these have been seen as a form of 'interlude', they form an integral part of Ane Satyre, advancing the narrative and exploring several of the play's major themes. They also demonstrate some of Lindsay's skill as a dramatist. For example, when the Pauper makes his appearance, he is treated by Diligence not as a player but as a member of the audience intruding on the action. This sense of realism (in direct contrast to the allegory which has gone before) is reinforced when we learn that he is on his way to the neighbouring town of St Andrews. The Poor Man explains that the deaths of his parents and his wife have left him destitute as both landlord and vicar demanded mortuary dues from him. Now he is on his way to seek recompense at law - a prospect which Diligence greets pessimistically. At this point, the pardoner, Sir Robert Romeraker enters. Clearly no spiritual man, he roundly condemns not only the translators of the New Testament but also St Paul and the Gospel itself. The crude and distinctly secular relics he has for sale arouse a suspicion (later verified) which also extends to the pardons and dispensations he is hawking. This is confirmed when he performs a divorce for the sowtar and his wife which is not only illegal and physically obscene but also carries diabolic associations. Encountering the Pauper, Sir Robert swindles him out of his last groat, selling him an indulgence he neither wants nor believes in.

At this point, Diligence announces the arrival of the three estates who - in a dramatic representation of their corruption - enter the stage "gangand backwart led by their vyces". Despite Spiritualitie urging the parliament's postponement, all those with grievances are invited to present their bills. Again, Lindsay blurs the distinction

between players and audience as John the Commonweal steps up from the latter and, leaping into the play area, becomes one of the play's central characters. Making clear the implications Rex Humanitas's corruption had for the whole realm, John appears as tattered and crooked, a sorely neglected figure. He identifies the vices who led the three estates in their unnatural procession as Couetice and Sensualitie (Spiritualitie), Publik Oppressioun (Temporalitie) and Falset and Dissait (Merchandis). Flatterie too lurks amongst them. Despite Spiritualitie's loud complaints, the Vices are led to the stocks. The lay estates, however, prove much more amenable to reform and call for the assistance of Gude-Counsall. He stresses the need to care for the commonweal and points out how the commons are impoverished both by war and the Church (particularly the feuing movement). John the Commonweal joins in the complaint, attacking the thieves who oppress loyal labourers (especially in the Borders), idle beggars (including fat friars) and judicial corruption (both spiritual and temporal). Divyne Correctioun orders all lands to be set in feu to those who work them and while Spiritualitie attempts to wriggle out of this injunction, the temporal estates pledge themselves to defend the commonweal. Invited to complain further against Spiritualitie, John overcomes his initial fear to attack the over-rigorous exploitation of mortuary dues, to condemn those who exact tiends but do not preach and to criticise promiscuous prelates. Further complaints concerning the flow of Scottish money to Rome and abuse of pluralism also result in legislation. The discussion then turns to the question of preaching which is revealed as woefully inadequate. Indeed, when challenged, Spiritualitie confesses never to have read the New Testament. Enraged by this assault, Spiritualitie rounds on John with accusations of heresy. These are rejected when Divyne Correctioun proclaims himself satisfied with John's homely creed which, it should be noted, repudiates the abuses of bishops and friars. As a result of this debate, legislation is drawn up stipulating that kings should dispense benefices only to worthy candidates able to preach. Further complaints against Spiritualitie include a gripe about the interminable, incomprehensible and finally worthless proceedings of the consistory courts, the ignorance of clerics and the huge dowries they offer to marry off their bastard daughters. In response to this, Diligence is instructed to seek out learned clerics skilled at preaching.

The serious business of parliament is here interrupted by the arrival of Thift, alarmed at the reported arrival of a justice-dispensing monarch and in a highly comic episode peppered with local references, Thift is beguiled by his master, Oppressioun, into taking his place in the stocks. The action now reverts to the attack on the Church as Diligence returns with three learned clerks. Their sober demeanor contrasts forcibly with the worldly ambition and licentiousness displayed by Spiritualitie. This is underlined by the response to the sermon preached by the Doctour of divinity, a simple statement of Christian faith which they can in no way comprehend. Diligence too receives something of a spiritual education as the other divines point out the contradiction between the poverty of Christ and worldliness of the Church. This leads to a verbal attack on friars paralleled by the apprehension of one, revealed beneath his hood as Flatterie who, in exchange for his freedom, offers to help hang his fellow vices. (Similar rough treatment of the prioress reveals her wearing a forbidden silk kirtle beneath her habit.) Spiritualitie's garments are transferred to the three wise clerics and, unrecognized even by their own servants, they quit the stage. John too is re-clothed and in his "gay garmound" (3774) is installed at the heart of

parliament where the fifteen acts comprising the legislative action of the play are proclaimed by Diligence. These cover:

i) the defence of Christ's Kirk
ii) the enforcement of laws passed by the previous parliament
iii) the feuing of temporal lands "Till verteous men that labours with thair handis" (3812)
iv) the punishment of lords who offer protection to thieves and arrangements for the compensation of their victims
v) the establishment of Colleges of Justice in Edinburgh and Aberdeen
vi) the dissolution of the nunneries to pay for the above
vii) the strict separation of temporal and spiritual jurisdiction
viii) the granting of benefices only to worthy candidates
ix) the requirement for bishops to preach
x) the abolition of pluralism (royalty excepted)
xi) the abolition of mortuary dues (clerical and secular)
xii) the prohibition of absenteeism
xiii) the prevention of monies flowing to Rome
xiv) the introduction of clerical marriage
xv) the prohibition of marriage between offspring of the first and second estates

With the hanging of the Vices (Flatterie not included) it might seem as if the play were over but at this point Lindsay introduces the character of Folie. The comic account of his pursuit by a sow and his wife's rumbling bowels gives way to a amusing but much more serious sermon which, in contrast to the controlled modesty of the Doctor's homily, paints a picture of widespread folly which serves to remind the audience of the nearness of disorder and the importance of the action which has gone before. It is fitting that the play should finish on this humorous yet serious note, before finally being brought to a close by the herald Diligence.

Ane Dialog betuix Experience and Ane Courteour, Off the Miserabyll Estait of the Warld (The Monarche)

Date: 1554. (The poem refers to the 447 years remaining until the end of the world (5301-02) which, given that this was commonly expected in 2000, dates the poem to 1554.)

Length: 6338 lines.

This, Lindsay's final and most important work, consists of four parts or 'bukes' (variously sub-divided) flanked on the one hand by an "Epistil" and "Prolog" and on the other by an "Exhortatioun". The first of these introduces the poem - a "Lytil quair of mater miserabyll", - with a stylized mock-modesty which also suggests its title and subject matter (1). Lamenting the absence of a Scottish king, Lindsay dedicates his work to Arran and Archbishop Hamilton, hoping too that all of society's leaders (both lay and clerical) will heed the warnings which both the poet and a wrathful God give to a nation living with no regard for divine precept. The themes of sin and misery are carried over into "The Prolog", where they prey upon the mind of the poet-narrator. Unable to sleep, he takes a walk through a delightful landscaped bathed in a glorious dawn. Dismissing such eloquent passages of description as "vnfrutful and vaine", Lindsay

renounces the Pagan muses and prays to God for his inspiration (203). Calvary not Parnassus casts its shadow over this work.

In the First Buke of The Monarche, the poet-narrator encounters an old man, Experience, with whom he shares his distaste for an unstable and unrewarding life spent at Court. Experience tells him that his desire for earthly happiness is a fool's dream; life is a constant struggle for misery proceeds from sin. Asked to explain the origins of this sin, he recounts the story of the Fall - but also that of the Resurrection which offers the promise of redemption through Christ. This leads to a discussion of the nature of faith, during the course of which Lindsay offers an uncompromising rejection of the Protestant idea of Justification by Faith Alone and upholds the doctrine of Good Works. When the Courtiour enquires how Adam broke God's commandment, Experience urges him to read the Bible (although he will give as good an account as he is able). This allows Lindsay to make a lengthy interjection entitled "Ane Exclamatioun to the Redar, Twycheyng the Wryttyng of Ulgare and Maternall Language" in which he re-dedicates The Monarche to the unlearned that they might know of such "heycht mater" (540). Arguing that languages such as Hebrew, Latin and Greek were all originally vernaculars, comprehensible to the meanest members of society, he calls for the production of vernacular Scripture, prayers and, in a more secular vein, of vernacular law books. Returning to the main narrative, Experience delivers accounts of "The Creatioun of Adam and Eve" (notable for its evocative - and very sensuous - description of the joys of Eden) and "Of the Miserabyll Transgressioun of Adam" (which includes a vehement denunciation of female rule). The world history continues with Cain's murder of Abel, the corruption of Seth's blood with the seed of Cain and an account of how Noah escaped the flood sent to punish an idle people seduced into sin by Satan.

The Second Buke opens with the Courtiour interrogating Experience about the origins of such misfortunes as war and idolatry. This paves the way for the history of Nimrod, the builder of Babylon. Drawing on Josephus and Orosius, Lindsay provides a detailed account of the Tower he built before God, punishing Nimrod for his pride, introduced different languages and so caused the project to fail. Nimrod too is held responsible for the establishment of idolatry and Experience describes how a constantly burning fire, originally made as sacrifice to God, became as God and was worshipped by the people. Turning to war (in the course of which the Courtiour offers a moving and eloquent account of its horrors), Experience explains that its origins lie in the "Pryde, Couatyce, and vaine glore" of the first emperor of the Assyrian monarchy, King Ninus (2013). Ninus also devised the first image, a golden statue of his father Bellus, which he ordered all under his authority to worship. Sustained by the greed of craftsmen and priests, imagery spread throughout the world. The section entitled, "Off Imageis Vsit Amang Christin Men" provides a lively account of those common in sixteenth century Scotland, vividly evoking the multiplicity of saints important in the popular religious life. While maintaining the validity of images as 'books' for the unlearned, Experience makes clear that to pray to them is no less than idolatry. This leads to an "Exclamatioun Aganis Idolatrie" which calls for repentance, especially from churchmen who encourage such practices. The section also includes a passage proposing how those who offend against the teaching of the Church should be treated and calling for the repentance of those who currently oppress the professors of Christ's Word. Experience trusts to see "gude reformatione/ From time we gett ane faithful prudent king" but, until that time comes, he counsels patience (2605-06). Lindsay also launches an attack on

pilgrimages, occasions "Off Fornicatioun and Idolatrye", before ending the interpolation with a final prayer for reformation (2669). Returning to the narrative, Experience continues his account of the reign of Ninus with a description of the construction of Ninevah (the dimensions given according to Diodorus), of the war against Zoroastes, of his marriage to Semiramis and the story of how she tricked him out of his authority and his life. Lindsay continues to use the example of Assyrian monarchs to offer advice concerning the nature of good government when he describes how Semiramis, in many ways an admirable ruler, was undone by her lust. (The dreadful slaughter arising from her - failed - campaign against Stabrobates of India is also described at some length). Semiramis's downfall again allows Lindsay to make an impassioned denunciation of gynecocracy. Women should not ape men and, similarly, men should not be effeminate. This latter precept is illustrated by the career of Semiramis's son, Sardanapalus, whose eventual death brings to a close the 1240 year long Assyrian monarchy.

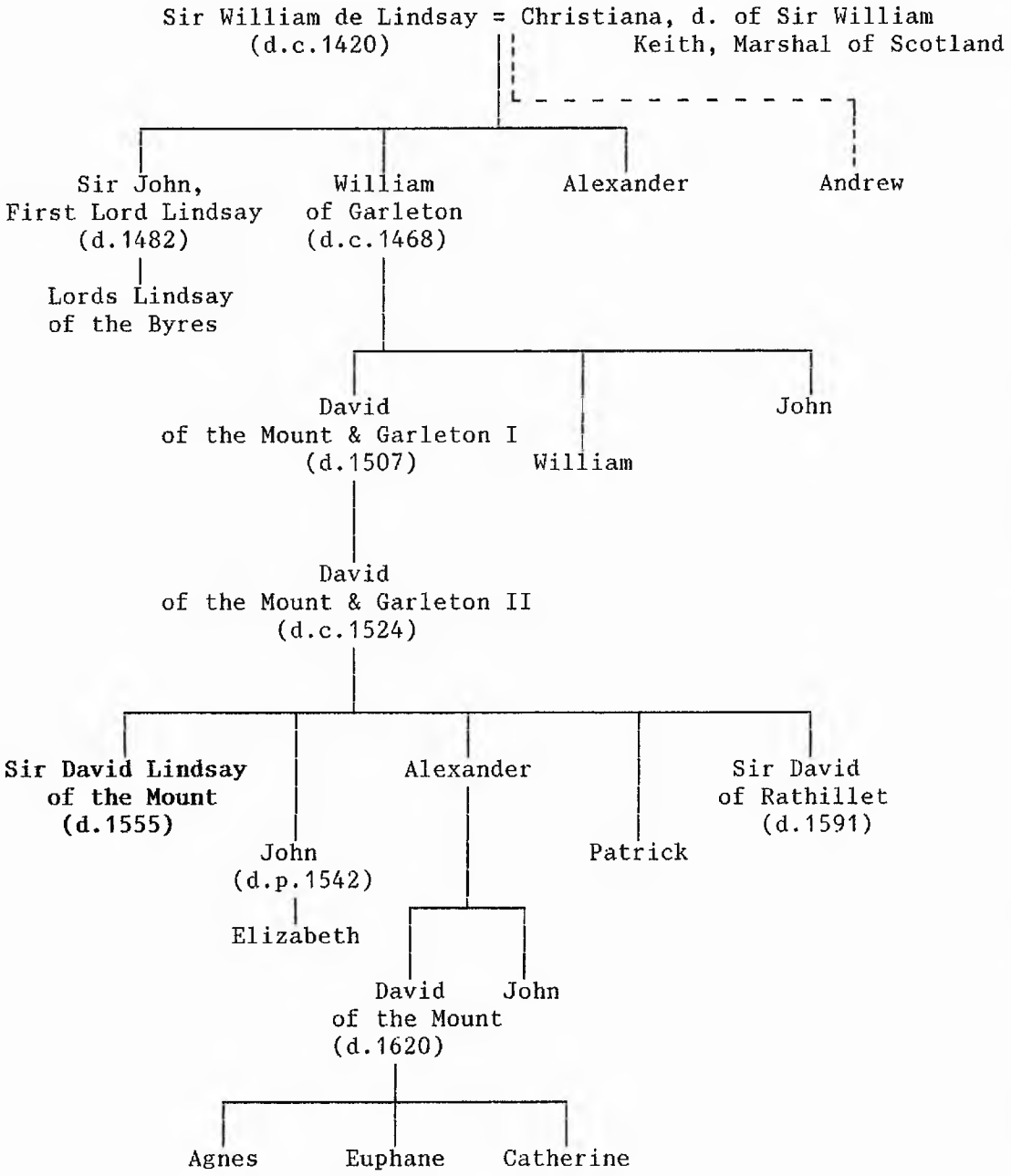
The Third Buke opens with a brief account of some of the events contemporaneous with the Assyrian monarchy: the destruction of Sodom and Gomorrah, the Exodus of the Israelites, the Trojan war and the foundation of Rome. Lindsay then turns to the remaining three monarchies which he considers in much less detail. Indeed a single section is entitled "Ane Schort Discriptioun of the Secund, Third, and Ferd Monarche". Herein are described the establishment of the Persian empire by King Cyrus, the conquest of the Greek empire by Alexander the Great and, finally, the building of the Roman empire by Julius Caesar. The history of the four monarchies not only illustrates the transience of worldly power, it also possesses an important providential function. Allowing the punishment of sinners and reward of the godly, it was also prophesied by Daniel whose vision is explained here at some length. In response to the Courtiour's query as to the most miserable misfortune experienced in the world during the fourth monarchy, Experience delivers a long and extremely powerful account of the twice over destruction of Jerusalem (particularly the siege waged by the Roman Titus). This also incorporates a stirring depiction of the Crucifixion. Again Experience stresses the unreliability of worldly ambition and the impermanence of worldly authority. God uses tyrants and emperors to scourge a wicked people and then casts his wand into the fire. Now, "The gret Impyris ar meltit clene away" and dearth, pestilence and war herald that the world is drawing to its end (4233). The poem's central message is once again repeated; fix your eyes on God, "And mend thy lyfe, quhil thow hes tyme & space" (4244). Asking whether there is no contemporary equivalent of the past empires, the Courtier learns that there is indeed one in the form of the Papacy, "the fyft Spirituall, and Papall Monarchie". The authority of the Pope is described in a manner which parodies both the authority of secular rulers and that of Christ. The Papacy has usurped the power of God while riches and sensuality have corrupted the pure apostolic Church. The neglect of Christ's instructions has led to a whole string of false practices among them clerical celibacy and fasting. At this point, Lindsay devotes a whole section to "Ane Discriptioun of the Court of Rome" which vehemently attacks the sale of indulgences (and possibly the whole doctrine of Purgatory). Calling for priests to preach and administer the sacraments, Lindsay urges the repeal of all laws contrary to Christ's teaching. He recalls Pauline prophecies and the text of Revelation and begs God to kindle repentance in the hearts both of churchmen and those "Now lauboryng in to the Kirk Militant/ That we may, all, cum to thy kirk Tryumphant" (4972-73).

Finally, Experience sums up his answer to the Courtiour's original question concerning how he might best reconcile himself to the miseries of this life. He must keep God's commandments, renounce his trust in earthly authority and fix his eyes upon the Four Last Things; Death, Judgement, Heaven and Hell. It is this eschatological vision which forms the basis of the fourth and final buke of The Monarche. "Off the Deith" is a particularly gloomy passage whose sonorous rhythm and steady repetition evocatively convey the inevitability of death. This is followed by "Ane Schorte Discriptioun of the Antechriste", antichrist being expected to appear prior to the Day of Judgement. Refuting the traditional legend of the antichrist, Experience explains that there are already many antichrists "Makand Lawis contrar to Christe" (5246). In reply to the Courtiour's question, he explains that although the timing of Judgement Day can not be known, it is undoubtedly imminent. In order to support his contention, Experience - citing Carion - refers to the prophecy of Daniel, Eliajah's periodization of world history and finally to such other tokens as the corruption of the spiritual estate. In vivid language, he gives an account of the expected end of the world, depicting a literal resurrection of the dead and the immortalization of the living. This is followed by an explanation of "The Maner quhow Christ sall cum to his Iugement" and the separation of the saints and sinners. By representing all ranks of society - but particularly churchmen - in this latter category, Lindsay is able to make a final plea for repentance and reform. Turning finally to the prospect of Heaven, Lindsay, despite acknowledging the difficulty of depicting divine bliss, attempts to convey something of the joys of the life to come. Like his earlier description of Eden, this relies heavily on the evocation of the type of physical delights which his audience could most readily comprehend.

Having completed his history up to and indeed beyond the end of time, Lindsay ends The Monarche with "Ane Exhortatioun Gyttin be Father Experience vnto his sone the Curteour". This reiterates the poem's central message, focusing on the miseries of the world, the need to relinquish worldly ambition, to live quietly and to look forward to everlasting bliss. Finally, Experience takes leave of the Courtiour who returns home to record his wisdom. At this point, Lindsay returns to his evocative description of the natural environment. Now, however, dawn is turned to dusk and the twilight of the day effectively suggests not only that the poem is at an end but also that the days of the poet's life and, indeed, of the very world itself are drawing to a close.

Appendix 2

The Lindsay Family Tree



Appendix 3

A Concise Chronology

LINDSAY	SCOTLAND	EUROPE
1486 b. of Lindsay		
	1488 Accession of James IV	
1507 d. of David Lindsay I, Lindsay receives Garleton-Alexander	Foundation of Scottish printing press	
	Great Tournament	
1508 Lindsay arrives at Court	Great Tournament	
		1509 Accession of Henry VIII
	1512 Birth of James V	
	1513 Battle of Flodden Death of James IV	
	1515–17 Albany's first administration	1515 Accession of Francis I
	1517 Treaty of Rouen arranges French marriage	Luther's 95 Theses spark Reformation
		1519 Charles V elected Holy Roman Emperor
a.1522 marriage to Janet Douglas	1521–22 Albany's 2nd administration	
	1523–24 Albany's 3rd administration Margaret Tudor assumes control	
1524 Lindsay loses his position at Court		
	1525 Angus seizes power First anti-heresy legislation	
1526? The Dreme	Paris publication of Boece's *Scotorum Historiae*	
	1528 Execution of Patrick Hamilton James V begins his personal rule	
		1529 Diet of Augsburg Reformation Parliament called in England
1529/30 Lindsay begins heraldic career		
1530 The Complaynt The Testament of the Papyngo		
	1531 Bellenden translates Boece's History	

1532 French Embassy (Feb-Nov) goes via England	Establishment of the College of Justice	Anglo-French alliance
1534 French Embassy	Anglo-Scottish Peace Stratoun & Gourlay executed for heresy	Act of Supremacy makes Henry VIII Head of English Church Affair of the Placards in France
1535 Visits England to participate in Garter ceremony Possibly goes on to France or else sails with James	1536 James sails to France	Danish Reformation Death of Erasmus Publication of Calvin's Institutes
The Deploratioun	1537 French marriage d. of Madelaine	
Entry celebrations	1538 Guise marriage for Mary of Guise Beaton becomes a Cardinal	Franco-Imperial treaty alarms Henry VIII who seeks Scottish amity
	1539 Beaton elevated to St Andrews 7 executed for heresy	
1540 Epiphany Drama	Coronation of Mary of Guise	
Lindsay receives 1000 merks	Trial of Borthwick Birth of Prince James Arrest of Finnart	Fall of Thomas Cromwell in England
1541 purchase of Ovir-Pratres	Birth of Prince Arthur James fails to meet Henry VIII at York	
1542 Lindsay becomes Lyon King of Arms and compiles his Armorial Register Janet dies ?	Death of princes Battle of Solway Moss Birth of Mary Stewart Death of James V	Renewal of war between France and the Empire Anglo-Imperial treaty
1543 Funeral of James V		
	Arran chosen Governor Parliament authorises vernacular scripture Treaty of Greenwich	
Lindsay leaves Court	Earlier legislation & English marriage settlement revoked	
	1544 5 executed for heresy in Perth Hertford's invasion signals start of 'Rough Wooing'	

	1545 Arrival of French Troops Wishart's mission	Council of Trent opens (with no Scottish representation)
	1546 Wishart executed Beaton murdered & start of siege of St Andrews Castle	Death of Luther
Lindsay sent to open talks with Castilians		
1547 Knox called to the ministry by Lindsay, Balnaves & Rough		Death of Henry VIII Death of Francis I
	French take Castle Battle of Pinkie	
The Tragedie of the Cardinal		
	1548 Treaty of Haddington arranges for French marriage Mary sent to France	
Danish Embassy		
1549 Return to Scotland	Hamilton elevated to St Andrews Provincial Council of the Scottish Church	
1550 Squyer Meldrum	Mary of Guise's French visit	Anglo-French Peace
	1551 Pater Noster Controversy	Second session of Trent opens
1552 Cupar performance of Ane Satyre	Second Provincial Church Council	Death of Edward VI
1554 The Monarche Ane Satyre staged at Edinburgh	Arran resigns regency in favour of Mary of Guise	
1555 Death of Lindsay		Charles V abdicates

B I B L I O G R A P H Y

PRIMARY SOURCES

1) Manuscripts

BRITISH MUSEUM:

Ane Forme of the Coronatioun of the Kinges of Scotland, in Hardwicke Papers: Historical Collections for Scotland 1031-1620: ADD. MS 35844, fols 191-92.

Lindsay's Letter from Antwerp: Cotton MS Caligula B.I., fol. 313.

Loutfut Manuscript: Harleian MS 6419.

Wriothesley Collections, III: ADD. MS 45133.

NATIONAL LIBRARY OF SCOTLAND:

Sir James Balfour of Denmilne's Manuscript Collection: ADV. MS 35.2.6.

Early 16th Century Heraldic Manuscript: ADV. MS 31.6.5.

Sir David Lindsay's Armorial Manuscript: ADV. MS 31.4.3.

Sir David Lindsay of Raithillet's Heraldic Collection: ADV. MS 31.3.20.

John Scrymengeour's Heraldic Collection: ADV. MS 31.5.2.

Seton Armorial c.1591: ACC. 9309.

PUBLIC RECORD OFFICE:

Henrisoun, "The Godly and Golden Book": SP 50/4, fols 128-37.

ST ANDREWS UNIVERSITY:

Cupar Burgh Court Book: B13/10/1

SCOTTISH RECORD OFFICE:

Lindsay Instructions, 1548: RH/2/7/6, fol. 142.

2) Record Collections (Published)

Accounts of the King's Pursemaster 1539-40, A. L. Murray, ed., in Miscellany X, (S.H.S., 1965) pp.13-51.

Accounts of the Lord High Treasurer of Scotland, T. Dickon & Sir J. Balfour Paul, ed., 12 vols, (Edinburgh, 1877-1916).

Accounts of the Master of Works 1529-1615, Henry M. Paton, ed., (Edinburgh, 1957).

The Acts of Parliament of Scotland, T. Thomson & C. Innes, ed., 12 vols, (Edinburgh, 1814-75).

Acts of the Lords of Council in Public Affairs 1501-54: Selections from the Acta Dominorum Concilii, R. K. Hannay, ed., (Edinburgh, 1932).

Calendar of Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic, Henry VIII, J. S. Brewer et al., ed., 21 vols, (London, 1864-1932).

Calendar of State Papers Relating to Scotland and Mary, Queen of Scots, 1547-1603, J. Bain et al., ed., 13 vols, (Edinburgh, 1898-1969).

Calendar of State Papers Relating to Scotland, 1509-1603, M. J. Thorpe, ed., 2 vols, (London, 1858).

Calendar of State Papers, Domestic, Edward VI, Mary, Elizabeth I and James I, R. Lemon et al., ed., 12 vols, (London, 1856-72).

Calendar of State Papers, Foreign, Edward VI, W. B. Turnball, ed., (London, 1861).

Discours Particulier d'Escosse, 1559/60, Peter G. B. McNeil, ed., in Miscellany II, 35, (Stair Society, 1984) pp.86-131.

The Douglas Book, Sir William Fraser, ed., 4 vols, (Edinburgh, 1885).

Early Records of the University of St Andrews, J. M. Anderson, ed., (S.H.S., 1926).

The Exchequer Rolls of Scotland, G. Burnett et al., ed., 23 vols, (Edinburgh, 1878-1908).

Extracts from the Records of the Burgh of Edinburgh 1528-57 (S.B.R.S., 1875).

Foreign Correspondence with Mary of Lorraine, M. Wood, ed., 2 vols (S.H.S., 1923-25).

The Hamilton Papers, Joseph Bain, ed., 2 vols, (Edinburgh, 1890-92).

Hist. MSS. Comm. Report on the MSS of the Duke of Hamilton (London, 1887).

Hist. MSS. Comm. Report on the MSS of the Earl of Hume (London, 1891)

Hist. MSS. Comm. Report on the MSS of the Earl of Mar and Kellie (London, 1904).

Letters of James IV 1503-1513, R. L. Mackie, ed., (S.H.S., 1953).

Letters of James V, D. Hay & R. K. Hannay, ed., (S.H.S., 1954).

Memorials of the Earls of Haddington, Sir William Fraser, ed., 2 vols, (Edinburgh, 1889).]

Papers Relative to the Regalia of Scotland (Bannatyne Club, 1829).

Register of the Privy Council of Scotland, J. H. Burton et al., ed., (Edinburgh 1877-).

Registrum Magni Sigilli Regum Scotorum, J. M. Thompson et al., ed., 11 vols, (Edinburgh, 1882-1914).

Registrum Secreti Sigilli Regum Scotorum, M. Livingstone et al., ed., (Edinburgh, 1908-).

Relations Politiques de la France et de L'Espagne avec L'Ecosse au XVI^e Siecle, A. Teulet, ed., 5 vols (Paris, 1862).

Scottish Correspondence of Mary of Lorraine, 1543-1560, A. I. Cameron, ed., (S.H.S., 1927).

State Papers of Henry VIII, 11 vols, (London, 1830-52).

State Papers of Sir Ralph Saddler, A. Clifford, ed., 3 vols, (Edinburgh, 1809).

Statutes of the Scottish Church 1225-1559, David Patrick, ed., (S.H.S., 1907).

3) Literature, Histories and Chronicles (Published)

Aquinas, Thomas, Aquinas: Selected Political Writings, A. P. D'Entrevès ed. & J. G. Dawson, trans., (Oxford, 1948).

Aristotle, Aristotle: The Politics, T. A. Sinclair, ed. & trans., (Harmondsworth, 1962).

Aristotle, The Ethics of Aristotle, J. A. K. Thomson, trans., H. Tredennick & J. Barnes ed., (Harmondsworth, 1976).

The Asloan Manuscript, W. A. Craigie, ed., 2 vols, (S.T.S., 1923-25).

The Bannatyne Manuscript, W. Tod Ritchie, ed., 4 vols, (S.T.S., 1923-25).

The Bannatyne Miscellany, 3 vols, (Bannatyne Club, 1827-55).

Bellenden, John, Livy's History of Rome, the First Five Books translated into Scots by John Bellenden, 1533, W. A. Craigie, ed., 2 vols, (S.T.S., 1901-03).

———, The Chronicles of Scotland Compiled by Hector Boece translated into Scots by John Bellenden (1531), R. W. Chambers and Edith C. Batho, ed., 2 vols, (S.T.S., 1938-41).

———, The Mar Lodge Translation of the History of Scotland by Hector Boece, George Watson, ed., (S.T.S., 1946).

Boece, Hector, *Scotorum Historiae* (Paris, 1527).

The Boke of the Ordre of Chyvalry translated and printed by William Caxton together with Adam Loutfut's Scottish Transcript, A. T. P. Bayles, ed., (E.E.T.S., 1926).

De la Brosse, Two Missions of Jacques de la Brosse: An Account of the Affairs of Scotland in the year 1543 and the Journal of the Siege of Leith, 1560, Dickinson, G., ed., (S.H.S., 1942).

Buchanan, George, The History of Scotland from the Earliest Period to the Regency of the Earl of Moray by George Buchanan, James Aikman, ed. & trans., 6 vols, (Glasgow, 1845).

Bullein, William, A Dialogue against the Feuer Pestilence by William Bullein from the edition of 1578 collated with the earlier editions of 1564 and 1573, M. W. & A. H. Bullein, ed., (E.E.T.S., 1888).

Calderwood, David, History of the Kirk of Scotland, T. Thomson & D. Laing, ed., 8 vols, (Woodrow Society, 1842-49).

Carion, Johan, The Thre Bokes of Cronicles & c. gathered wyth great diligence of the best authors; whereunto is added an appendix by John Funke of Nurenborough (London, 1550).

Castiglione; Balthazar, The Book of the Courtier, G. Bull, trans., (London, 1967).

The Catechisme that is to say, Ane Comone and Catholik Instructioun of the Christin People in materis of our Catholik Faith and Religioun, quhilk na gud Christin man or woman suld misknaw. Set furth by the maist Reverend Father in God, Johne Archbischop of Sanct Androus Legatnait and Primat of the Kirk of Scotland, in his Provincial Counsale haldin at Edinburgh the XXVI Day of Januarie, the Yeir of our Lord 1551 (St Andrews, 1552).

The Catechism of John Hamilton, Archbishop of St Andrews, 1552, T. G. Law, ed., (Oxford, 1884).

Cicero, *De Officiis*, G. B. Gardiner, trans., (London, 1899).

A Compendious Book of Godly and Spiritual Songs, Commonly Known as the Gude and Godlie Ballatis, A. F. Mitchell, ed., (S.T.S., 1879).

The Complaynt of Scotland by Robert Wedderburn (c.1550), A. M. Stewart, ed., (S.T.S., 1979).

The Complaynt of Scotland, James A. H. Murray, ed., (E.E.T.S., 1873).

A Diurnal of Remarkable Occurents that have passed within the country of Scotland since the death of King James the Fourth till the year 1575 (Bannatyne Club, 1833).

Douglas, Gavin, The Poetical Works of Gavin Douglas, John Small, ed., 4 vols, (Edinburgh & London, 1874).

———, The Shorter Poems of Gavin Douglas, Priscilla Bawcutt, ed., (S.T.S., 1967).

———, Vergil's Aeneid translated into Scottish Verse by Gavin Douglas, D. F. C. Coldwell, ed., 4 vols, (S.T.S., 1957-64).

Dunbar, William, The Poems of William Dunbar, John Small, ed., 3 vols, (S.T.S., 1893).

Elyot, Thomas, The Boke Named the Gouernor: Sir Thomas Elyot, Knight, H. H. S. Croft, ed., (London, 1880).

Erasmus, Desiderius, Praise of Folly, B. Radice, trans. & A. H. T. Levi, (London, 1971).

———, The Education of a Christian Prince, Lester, K. Born, ed. & trans., (New York, 1965).

The First Book of Discipline, J. K. Cameron, ed., (Edinburgh, 1972).

Gau, John, The Richt Vay to the Kingdom of Heuine, Arthur F. Mitchell ed., (S.T.S., 1888).

Hay, Sir Gilbert, Gilbert of the Hayes Prose Manuscript, J. H. Stevenson, ed., 2 vols, (S.T.S., 1901-14).

Henryson, Robert, The Poems of Robert Henryson, G. Gregory Smith, ed., 3 vols, (S.T.S., 1906-14).

Ireland, John, Johannes de Irlandis, Meroure of Wyssdome, Books VI & VII, Craig MacDonald, ed., (S.T.S., 1990).

Knox, John, The Works of John Knox, David Laing, ed., 6 vols, (Woodrow Society, 1846-64).

Lancelot of the Laik, Margaret M. Gray, ed., (S.T.S., 1912).

Leland, John, *Johanniis Lelandi Antiquarii de Rebus Britannicis Collectanea*, 6 vols, (London, 1774).

Leslie, Bishop John, The History of Scotland from the Death of King James I in the year 1436 to the year 1561 (Bannatyne Club, 1830).

Lindsay, David, Ane Dialogue betuix Experience and ane Courteour, Off the miserabill estait of the warld. Compilit be Schir Dauid Lyndesay of the Mont Knycht, Alias Lyone Kyng of Armes (Paris, 1558).

———, A Dialogue betweene Experience and a Courtier, of the miserable estate of the worlde, first compiled in the Schottishe tongue by Sir Dauid Lyndesay, Knight, (a man of great learning and science) now newly corrected, and made perfit Englishe (London, 1566).

———, The Warkis of the Famous and Worthie Knicht Schir Dauid Lyndesay of the Mont, Alias Lyoun King of Armes. Newly correctit and vindicate from the former errouris quhairwith thay war befoir corruptit: And Augmentit with sindry warkis quhilk was not befoir imprentit (Edinburgh, 1574).

———, Ane Satyre of the Thrie Estatis, in Commendation of Vertew and Vituperation of Vyce. Maid be Sir Dauid Lindesay of the Mont, alias Lyon King of Armes (Edinburgh, 1602).

———, The Poetical Works of Sir David Lyndsay of the Mount, George Chalmers, ed., 3 vols (London, 1806).

———, Facsimile of an Ancient Heraldic Manuscript emblazoned by Sir David Lyndsay of the Mount, Lyon King of Armes, 1542 (Edinburgh, 1822).

———, The Works of Sir David Lindsay, J. H. Murray, ed., 5 vols, (E.E.T.S. 1865-71).

———, The Poetical Works of Sir David Lyndsay, David Laing, ed.,

3 vols, (Edinburgh, 1879).

———, The Works of Sir David Lindsay of the Mount, 1490-1555, Douglas Hamer, ed., 4 vols, (S.T.S., 1931-36).

———, Ane Satyre of the Thrie Estatis, J. Kingsley, ed., (London, 1954).

———, Sir David Lindsay of the Mount: Ane Satyre of the Thrie Estatis, R. J. Lyall, ed., (Edinburgh, 1989).

Mair, John, A History of Greater Britain as well England as Scotland (1521), Archibald Constable, ed. & trans., (S.H.S., 1892).

The Maitland Folio Manuscript, W. A. Craigie, ed., 2 vols, (S.T.S., 1917-27).

The Maitland Quarto Manuscript, W. A. Craigie, ed., (S.T.S., 1920).

The Manner of the Coronation of King Charles I of England (Henry Bradshaw Liturgical Text Society, 1892).

Pitscottie, Robert Lindsay of, The History and Chronicles of Scotland, AE. J. G. Mackay, 3 vols, (S.T.S., 1899-1911).

Rolland, John, The Seuin Seages translatit out of prois in Scottis meter be Iohne Rolland in Dalkeith, G. F. Black, ed., (S.T.S., 1931).

Satirical Poems of the Time of the Reformation, J. Cranstoun, ed., 2 vols, (S.T.S., 1891-93).

Scott, Alexander, The Poems of Alexander Scott, J. Cranstoun, ed., (S.T.S., 1896).

Scottish Alliterative Poems, F. J. Amours, ed., (S.T.S., 1897).

Skelton, John, Magnyfycence, Robert Lee Ramsay, ed., (E.E.T.S., 1958).

Spottiswoode, John, History of the Church of Scotland 1639, 10 vols, (Bannatyne Club, 1847-50).

Starkey, Thomas, Thomas Starkey, A Dialogue between Pole and Lupset (Camden Series, 1989).

Stewart, William, The Buik of the Croniclis of Scotland or A Metrical Version of the History of Hector Boece, William B. Turnball, ed., 3 vols, (Rolls Series, 1858).

The Thre Prestis of Peblis, How Thai Told Thar Talis, T. D. Robb, ed., (S.T.S., 1920).

Wever, R., Ane Enterlude Called Lusty Iuventus: Liuely describyng the Frailtie of Youth: Of Nature prone to Vyce: by Grace and Good Councell traynable to Vertue by R Wever, Helen Scarborough Thomas, ed., (New York & London, 1982).

4) Reference Works

Aldis, H. G., A List of Books Published in Scotland before 1700 (Edinburgh, 1970).

Balfour Paul, Sir James, The Scots Peerage, 9 vols, (Edinburgh, 1904-14).

Dictionary of National Biography (London & Oxford, 1885-).

A Dictionary of the Older Scottish Tongue: Twelfth Century to the end of the Seventeenth, W. A. Craigie et al., ed., (London & Aberdeen, 1937-).

Durkan, J. & Ross, A., Early Scottish Libraries (Glasgow, 1961).

Forbes, Leith W., Pre-Reformation Scholars in Scotland in the Sixteenth Century (Glasgow, 1915).

Grant, Sir Francis James, The Faculty of Advocates in Scotland 1532-1943 (S.R.S., 1944).

———, Court of the Lord Lyon 1318-1945 (S.R.S., 1946).

Herbert, A. S., Historical Catalogue of Printed Editions of the English Bible 1525-1961 (London & New York, 1968).

Hieronymussen, P., Orders, Medals and Decorations of Britain and Europe (London, 1967).

Royal Commission on Ancient and Historic Monuments of Scotland: Midlothian and West Lothian (Edinburgh, 1929).

Watt, D. E. R., *Fasti Ecclesiae Scotianae Medii Aevi ad annum 1638* (S.R.S., 1969).

SECONDARY SOURCES

1) Books

Aitken, A. J., et al., ed., Bards and Makars: Scottish Language and Literature, Medieval and Renaissance (Glasgow, 1977).

Allen, J. W., A History of Political Thought in the Sixteenth Century (London, 2nd edn., 1941).

Allmand, C. T., War, Literature and Politics in the Late Middle Ages (Liverpool, 1976).

———, ed., Power, Culture and Religion in France c.1350-c.1550 (Woodbridge, 1989).

Althaus, Paul, The Theology of Martin Luther (Philadelphia, 1966).

Anglo, Sydney, Spectacle, Pageantry and Early Tudor Policy (Oxford, 1969).

———, ed., Chivalry in the Renaissance (Woodbridge, 1990).

Balfour Paul, Sir James, Heraldry in Relation to Scottish History and Art (Edinburgh, 1900).

Bantock, G. H., Studies in the History of Educational Theory, 2 vols, (London, 1980).

Bapst, Edmond, *Les Mariages de Jaques V* (Paris, 1889).

Barber, R., The Knight and Chivalry (London, 1970).

Bauckham, Richard, Tudor Apocalypse: Sixteenth Century Apocalyptism, Millenarianism and the English Reformation from John Bale to John Fox and Thomas Brightman (Appleford, 1978).

Bawcutt, Priscilla, Gavin Douglas: A Critical Study (Edinburgh, 1976).

Bennet, H. S., English Books and Readers, 3 vols, (Cambridge, 2nd edn., 1969).

Bevington, David, Tudor Drama and Politics: A Critical Approach to Topical Meaning (Cambridge, Mass., 1968).

Bigongiari, D., The Political Ideas of St Thomas Aquinas (New York, 1953).

Billington, Sandra, Mock Kings in Medieval Society and Renaissance Drama (Oxford, 1990).

Bingham, Caroline, James V, King of Scots, 1512-1542 (London, 1971).

Boas, George, Vox Populi: Essays in the History of an Idea (Boston, 1969).

Booty, John E., ed., The Godly Kingdom of Tudor England: Great Books of the English Reformation (Witton, Conneticut, 1981).

Bossy, John, Christianity in the West 1400-1700 (Oxford, 1985).

Boulton, D'Arcy Jonathon Dacre, The Knights of the Crown: The Monarchical Orders of Knighthood in Later Medieval Europe, 1325-1520 (Woodbridge, 1987).

Brown, J. M., ed., Scottish Society in the Fifteenth Century (London, 1977).

Bryant, M., The King and the City in the Parisian Royal Entry Ceremony: Politics, Ritual and Art in the Renaissance (Geneva, 1986).

Burgess, Glyn S. & Taylor, Robert A., The Spirit of the Court: Selected Proceedings of the Fourth Congress of the International Courtly Literature Society (Woodbridge & Dover, New Hampshire, 1985).

Bushnell, Rebecca W., Tragedies of Tyrants: Political Thought and Theater in the English Renaissance (Ithaca & London, 1990).

Cameron, Euan, The European Reformation (Oxford, 1991).

Chartier, Roger, The Cultural Uses of Print in Early Modern France (Princeton, 1987).

Christianson, Paul, Reformers and Babylon: English Apocalyptic Visions from the Reformation to the Eve of the Civil War (Toronto, 1977).

Christie, George, The Influence of Letters on the Scottish Reformation (Edinburgh & London, 1908).

Collins, Adela Yarboro, Crisis and Catharsis: The Power of the Apocalypse (Philadelphia, 1984).

Collins, John J., The Apocalyptic Imagination: An Introduction to the Jewish Matrix of Christianity (New York, 1984).

Cosman, Madelaine P., The Education of the Hero in Arthurian Romance (Chapel Hill, 1965).

Cowan, Ian B., The Scottish Reformation: Church and Society in Sixteenth Century Scotland (London, 1982).

———, & Shaw, D., ed., The Renaissance and Reformation in Scotland (Edinburgh, 1983).

Dickens, A. G., The English Reformation (London, 2nd edn., 1989).

Dickson, R. & Edmond, J. P., Annals of Scottish Printing from the Introduction of the Art in 1507 to the Beginning of the Seventeenth Century (Cambridge, 1890).

Dodgshon, Robert A., Land and Society in Early Scotland (Oxford, 1981).

Donaldson, G., The Scottish Reformation (Cambridge, 1960).

———, James V to James VII (Edinburgh, 1965).

———, Scottish Church History (Edinburgh, 1985).

Dowling, Maria, Humanism in the Age of Henry VIII (London, 1986).

——— & Peter Lake, ed., Protestantism and the National Church in Sixteenth Century England (London, New York & Sydney, 1987).

Durkan, J. & Kirk J., The University of Glasgow 1451-1577 (Glasgow, 1977).

Dwyer, J., Mason, R. A. & Murdoch, A., ed., New Perspectives on the Politics and Culture of Early Modern Scotland (Edinburgh, 1982).

Easson, D. E., Gavin Dunbar, Chancellor of Scotland, Archbishop of Glasgow (Edinburgh & London, 1947).

Eccleshall, R., Order and Reason in Politics: Theories of Absolute and Limited Monarchy in Early Modern England (Oxford, 1978).

Eisenstein, Elizabeth, The Printing Press as an Agent of Change: Communications and Cultural Transformations in Early Modern Europe, 2 vols, (Cambridge, 1979).

Eyre-Todd, G., Scottish Poetry of the Sixteenth Century (Glasgow, 1892).

Ferguson, Arthur B., The Indian Summer of English Chivalry: Studies in the Decline and Transformation of Chivalric Idealism (Durham, N. C., 1960).

———, The Articulate Citizen and the English Renaissance (Durham, N. C., 1965).

———, The Chivalric Tradition in Renaissance England (Washington, London & Toronto, 1986).

Ferguson, Wallace K., The Renaissance in Historical Thought: Five Centuries of Interpretation (Boston, 1948).

Firth, Katherine R., The Apocalyptic Tradition in Reformation Britain 1530-1645 (Oxford, 1979).

Fox, Alistair & Guy, John, Reassessing the Henrician Age: Humanism, Politics and Reform, 1500-1550 (Oxford & New York, 1986).

Fox, Alistair, Politics and Literature in the Reigns of Henry VII and Henry VIII (Oxford, 1989).

Gardner-Medwin, A. & Williams, J. H., ed., A Day Estivall; Essays on the Music, Poetry and History of Scotland and England and Poems Previously Unpublished in Honour of Helena Mennie Shire (Aberdeen, 1990).

Giesey, Ralph E., The Royal Funeral Ceremony in Renaissance France (Geneva, 1960).

Gilbert, Allan H., Machiavelli's *Prince* and its Forerunners (New York, 1938).

Gittings, Clare, Death, Burial and the Individual in Early Modern England (London & Sydney, 1984).

Goodman, Anthony & MacKay, Angus, ed., The Impact of Humanism on Western Europe (London & New York, 1990).

Grant, I. F. The Social and Economic Development of Scotland before 1603 (Edinburgh & London, 1930).

Greaves, R. L., Theology and Revolution in the Scottish Reformation: Studies in the Thought of John Knox (Grand Rapids, Michigan, 1980).

Green, Richard Firth, Poets and Princepleasers: Literature and the English Court in the Late Middle Ages (Toronto, Buffalo & London, 1980).

Greenblatt, Stephen, Learning to Curse: Essays in Early Modern Culture (London & New York, 1990).

Greengrass, M., The French Reformation (Oxford, 1987).

Guy, John, Tudor England (Oxford & New York, 1988).

Harbison, Craig, The Last Judgement in Sixteenth Century Northern Europe: A Study of the Relation between Art and the Reformation (New York & London, 1976).

Harper-Bill, C., The Pre-Reformation Church in England 1400-1530 (London, 1989).

Hay, Denys, Renaissance Essays (London & Ronceverre, 1988).

Houston, R. A. & Whyte I. D. ed., Scottish Society 1500-1800 (Cambridge 1989).

Houston, R. A., Literacy in Early Modern Europe: Culture and Education 1500-1800 (London & New York, 1988).

———, Scottish Literacy and the Scottish Identity: Illiteracy and Society in Scotland and Northern England 1600-1800 (Cambridge, 1985).

Huizanga, J., The Waning of the Middle Ages (London, 1924 & 1965).

Hughes, Joan & Ramson, W. S., Poetry of the Stewart Court (Canberra, 1982).

Hume Brown, P., George Buchanan: Humanist and Reformer (Edinburgh, 1890).

———, Early Travellers in Scotland (Edinburgh 1891).

Inglis, John A., Sir Adam Otterburn of Redhall (Glasgow, 1935).

Innes of Learney, Sir Thomas, Scots Heraldry (Edinburgh & London, 2nd edn., 1956).

Jack, R. D. S., The Italian Influence on Scottish Literature (London, 1972).

———, ed., The History of Scottish Literature: Origins to 1660 (Aberdeen, 1988).

Jones, Michael & Storey, R. L., ed., Gentry and Lesser Nobility in Late Medieval Europe (Gloucester & New York, 1986).

Jones, Richard Foster, The Triumph of the English Language, A Survey of Opinions Concerning the Vernacular from the Introduction of Printing to the Restoration (Stanford, 1953).

Kantorowicz, Ernst, The King's Two Bodies: A Study in Medieval Political Theology (Princeton, 1957).

Kantrowitz, Joanne Spencer, Dramatic Allegory: Lindsay's *Ane Satyre of the Thrie Estatis* (Nebraska, 1975).

Kaplan, Wendy, ed., Scotland Creates: 5000 Years of Art and Design (London, 1990).

Kearney, Hugh, Scholars and Gentlemen: Universities and Society in Pre-Industrial Britain 1500-1700 (London, 1970).

Keen, Maurice, Chivalry (New Haven & London, 1984).

Kilgour, R. J., The Decline of Chivalry (Cambridge, Mass., 1937).

Kinalfy, A. & MacQueen, H. L., New Perspectives in Scottish Legal History (London, 1984).

King, John N., English Reformation Literature: The Tudor Origins of the Protestant Tradition (Princeton, 1982).

———, Tudor Royal Iconography: Literature and Art in an Age of Religious Crisis (Princeton, 1989).

Kirk, James, Patterns of Reform: Continuity and Change in the Reformation Kirk (Edinburgh, 1989).

Knecht, R. J., Francis I (Cambridge, 1982).

Kratzman, G., Anglo-Scottish Literary Relations 1430-1558 (Cambridge, 1980).

Laslett, P., Runciman, W. G. & Skinner, Q., Philosophy, Politics and Society (Oxford, 1972).

Levi, A. H. T., ed., Humanism in France at the End of the Middle Ages and in the Early Renaissance (Manchester, 1970).

Lewis, C. S., English Literature in the Sixteenth Century excluding Drama (Oxford, 1954).

Locher, Gottfried W., Zwingli's Thought: New Perspectives, Studies in the History of Christian Thought, XXV, (Leiden, 1981).

Lynch, Michael, Edinburgh and the Reformation (Edinburgh, 1981).

———, Scotland: A New History (London, 1991).

MacConica, James, English Humanists and Reformation Politics under Henry VIII and Edward VI (Oxford, 1965).

Macdougall, Norman, James III: A Political Study (Edinburgh, 1982).

———, ed., Church, Politics and Society: Scotland 1408-1929 (Edinburgh, 1983).

———, James IV (Edinburgh, 1989).

McClure, J. Derrick & Spiller, Michael R. G., ed., Brycht Lanternis: Essays on the Language and Literature of Medieval and Renaissance Scotland (Aberdeen, 1989).

McFarlane, I. D., A Literary History of Renaissance France 1470-1589 (London & New York, 1974).

———, Buchanan (London, 1981).

MacFarlane, L. J., William Elphinstone and the Kingdom of Scotland 1413-1514 (Aberdeen, 1985).

McGoldrick, James Edward, Luther's Scottish Connection (London & Toronto, 1989).

McGrath, A. E., Reformation Thought: An Introduction (Oxford, 1988).

Mackie, R. L., King James IV of Scotland: A Brief Survey of his Life and Times (Edinburgh & London, 1958).

McNeil, David O., Guillame Budé and Humanism in the Reign of Francis I (Geneva, 1975).

MacQueen, John, Robert Henryson: A Study of the Major Narrative Poems (Oxford, 1967).

———, Humanism in Renaissance Scotland (Edinburgh, 1990).

McRoberts, David, ed., Essays on the Scottish Reformation, 1513-1625 (Glasgow, 1962).

Marshall, Rosalind K., Mary of Guise (London, 1977).

Martines, L., Society and History in English Renaissance Verse (Oxford, 1985).

Mason, R. A., ed., Scotland and England 1286-1815 (Edinburgh, 1987).

Mathieson, W. L. Politics and Religion in Scotland, 1550-1695, 2 vols, (Glasgow, 1902).

Mattingly, G., Renaissance Diplomacy (London, 1955).

Mill, Anna Jean, Medieval Plays in Scotland (Edinburgh & London, 1927).

Mohl, Ruth, The Three Estates in Medieval and Renaissance Literature (New York, 1933).

Mooney, Michael, ed., Renaissance Thought and its Sources: Paul Oscar Kristeller (New York, 1979).

Mulgan, R. G., Aristotle's Political Theory (Oxford, 1977).

Mullet, M., Popular Culture and Popular Protest in Late Medieval and Early Modern Europe (London, New York & Sydney, 1987).

Murison, W., Sir David Lyndsay, Poet and Satirist of the Old Church in Scotland (Cambridge 1938).

Nicholson, Ranald, Scotland: The Later Middle Ages (Edinburgh, 1974).

Norbrook, David, Poetry and Politics in the English Renaissance (London, 1984).

Olin, John C., Christian Humanism and the Reformation: Desiderius Erasmus (New York, 1965).

Patrides C. A. & Wittreich, J., ed., The Apocalypse in English Renaissance Thought and Literature (Cornell, 1984).

Patrides, C. A., The Grand Design of God: The Literary Form of the Christian View of History (London, 1972).

Peck, Russell A., Kingship and Common Profit in Gower's *Confessio Amantis* (Carbondale & Edwardsville, S. Illinois, 1978).

Peter, John, Complaint and Satire in Early English Literature (Oxford, 1956).

Queller, Donald E., The Office of Ambassador in the Middle Ages (Princeton, 1967).

Rabb, T. K. & Seigel, J. E., ed., Action and Conviction in Early Modern Europe: Essays in Memory of E. H. Harbison (Princeton, 1967).

Rabil, Albert, ed., Renaissance Humanism: Foundations, Forms and Legacy, 3 vols, (Philadelphia, 1988).

Rait, R. S., The Parliaments of Scotland (Glasgow, 1924).

Reeves, Marjorie, The Influence of Prophecy in the Later Middle Ages: A Study of Joachism (Oxford, 1969).

Robbins; K., ed., Religion and Humanism, Studies in Church History, XVII, (Oxford, 1981).

Rupp, E. G. & Drewery, B., Martin Luther (London, 1970).

Russell, F. H., The Just War in the Middle Ages (Cambridge, 1975).

Russell, Jocelyne G., The Field of the Cloth of Gold: Men and Manners in 1520 (London, 1969).

———, Peacemaking in the Renaissance (London, 1986).

Salmon, J. H. M., Society in Crisis: France in the Sixteenth Century (London, 1975).

Sanderson, Margaret H. B. Scottish Rural Society in the Sixteenth Century (Edinburgh, 1982).

———, Cardinal of Scotland: David Beaton c.1494-1546 (Edinburgh, 1986).

Scarisbrick, J. J., The Reformation and the English People (Oxford, 1984).

Scatterwood, V. J. & Sherboune, J. W., ed., English Court Culture in the Later Middle Ages (London, 1983).

Seton, George, The Law and Practice of Heraldry in Scotland (Edinburgh, 1863).

Shire, Helena Mennie, Song, Dance and Poetry at the Court of Scotland under King James VI (Cambridge, 1969).

Shuger, Deborah K., Habits of Thought in the English Renaissance: Religion, Politics and the Dominant Culture (Berkeley & Oxford, 1990).

Simpson, Grant G., Scottish Handwriting 1150-1650 (Aberdeen, 1977).

Skinner, Quentin, The Foundations of Modern Political Thought, 2 vols, (Cambridge, 1978).

Smith, Janet M., The French Background of Middle Scots Literature (Edinburgh, 2nd edn., 1934).

Smout, T. C. ed., Scotland and Europe (Edinburgh, 1986).

Spearing, A. C., Medieval Dream Poetry (Cambridge, 1976).

Stair-Kerr, Eric, Stirling Castle, Its Place in Scottish History (Stirling, 2nd edn., 1928).

Stevenson, J. H., Heraldry in Scotland including a Recension of the Law and Practice of Heraldry in Scotland by the late George Seton, Advocate (Glasgow, 1914).

Stewart, I. H., The Scottish Coinage (London, 1955)

Straus, Dietrich & Drescher, Horst W., ed., Scottish Studies: Scottish Language and Literature, Medieval and Renaissance (Frankfurt, Berne & New York, 1986).

Stringer, K. J. ed., Essays on the Nobility of Medieval Scotland (Edinburgh, 1985).

Strong, Roy, Art and Power: Renaissance Festivals 1450-1650 (Woodbridge, 2nd edn., 1984).

Swanson, R. N., Church and Society in Late Medieval England (Oxford, 1989).

Trinkaus, Charles, The Scope of Renaissance Humanism (Ann Arbour, 1983).

———, & Oberman, H. A., ed., The Pursuit of Holiness in Late Medieval and Renaissance Religion, S.M.R.T., 10, (Leiden, 1974).

Tully, James, ed., Meaning and Context: Quentin Skinner and his Critics (Cambridge, 1988).

Vale, Malcolm, War and Chivalry: Warfare and Aristocratic Culture in England, France and Burgundy and the End of the Middle Ages (Athens, Ga., 1981).

Various authors, An Introduction to Scottish Legal History (Stair Society, 1958).

Various authors, Clan Lindsay Society, 4 vols, (Edinburgh, 1901-36).

Various authors, Lives of the Lindsays or a Memoir of the Houses of Crawford and Balcarres, 4 vols, (Wigan, 1840).

Wagner, A. R. Heralds and Heraldry in the Middle Ages (Oxford, 1956).

Walker, Greg, Plays of Persuasion: Drama and Politics at the Court of Henry VIII (Cambridge, 1991).

Waller, G., English Poetry of the Sixteenth Century (London & New York, 1986).

Watson, Roderick, The Literature of Scotland (Basingstoke & London, 1984).

Westfall, Suzanne R., Patrons and Performance: Early Tudor Household Revels (Oxford, 1990).

White, Helen C., Social Criticism in the Popular Religious Literature of the Sixteenth Century (New York, 1944).

Williamson, A. H., Scottish National Consciousness in the Age of James VI: The Apocalypse, the Union and the Shaping of Scotland's Public Culture (Edinburgh, 1979).

Wittig, Kurt, The Scottish Tradition in Literature (Edinburgh, 1958).

Wormald, J., Court, Kirk and Community: Scotland 1470-1625 (London, 1981).

———, Lords and Men in Scotland 1442-1602 (Edinburgh, 1988).

———, Mary Queen of Scots (London, 1988).

Yates, F. A., Astraea: The Imperial Theme in the Sixteenth Century (London, 1975).

2) Articles

N.B. Articles appearing as chapters in any of the books listed above are not cited below.

Anglo, Sydney, "An Early Tudor Programme for Plays and other Demonstrations against the Pope", Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes, XX, (1957) pp.176-79.

———, "The Courtier: The Renaissance and Changing Ideals", in A. G. Dickens, ed., The Courts of Europe: Politics, Patronage and Royalty 1400-1800 (London, 1977) pp.33-53.

Bald, M. A. "Vernacular Books Imported into Scotland 1500-1625", S.H.R., XXIII, (1926) pp.254-67.

Bannerman, John, "The King's Poet and the Inauguration of Alexander III", S.H.R., LXVIII, (1989) pp.120-49.

Baron, Hans, "The Secularization of Wisdom and Political Humanism in the Renaissance", Journal of the History of Ideas, XXI, (1960) pp.131-50.

———, "Cicero and the Roman Civic Spirit in the Middle Ages and the Early Renaissance", in Fredric L. Cheyette, ed., Lordship and Community in Medieval Europe (New York, 1968) pp.291-314.

Barrow, G. W. S., "The Idea of Feedom in Medieval Scotland", Innes Review, XXX, (1979) pp.16-34.

Baxter, J. H., "Alesius and other Reformed Refugees in Germany", R.S.C.H.S., V, (1934) pp.92-104.

Bennet, H. S., "The Production and Dissemination of Vernacular MS in the Fifteenth Century", Library, 3-4, (1946-47).

Bense, Walter F., "Paris Theologians on War and Peace 1521-29", Church History, 41, (1972) pp.168-85).

Bentley, Cranch D., "Effigy and Portraiture in Sixteenth Century Scotland", Review of Scottish Culture, IV, (1987) pp.9-23.

Billington, Sandra, "The Fool and the Moral in English and Scottish Morality Plays" in Popular Drama in Northern Europe in the Later Middle Ages, G. Fleming et al., ed., (Odense, 1988) pp.113-33.

Brother Kenneth, "Sir David Lindsay, Reformer", Innes Review, I, (1950) pp.79-91.

Brown, A. L., "The Scottish Establishment in the Later Fifteenth Century", Juridical Review, XXIII, (!978) pp.89-105.

Bühler, C. F. "Wirk all thyng by conseill", Speculum, XXIV, (1949) pp.410-12.

Burleigh, J. H. S., "The Scottish Reforming Councils, 1549-1559", R.S.C.H.S., XI, (1953) pp.189-211.

Burns, J. H., "The Scotland of John Mair", Innes Review, II, (1951) pp.65-76.

———, "John Ireland and 'The Meroure of Wyssdome'", Innes Review, VI, (1955) pp.77-98.

———, "The Political Ideas of the Scottish Reformation", Aberdeen University Review, XXXVI, (1955-56) pp.251-68.

———, "The Conciliarist Tradition in Scotland", S.H.R., XLII, (1963) pp.89-104.

Cameron, James K., "Catholic Reform in Germany and in the pre 1560 Church of Scotland", R.S.C.H.S., XX, (1979) pp.105-117.

———, "Aspects of the Lutheran Contribution to the Scottish Reformation", R.S.C.H.S., XXII, (1984) pp.1-13.

———, "Faith and Faction - Conflicting Loyalties in the Scottish Reformation", in M. Hirst, ed., States, Countries, Provinces (London, 1988) pp.72-90.

Carlson, David R., "Royal Tutors in the Reign of Henry VII", Sixteenth Century Journal, XX, (1991) pp.253-80.

Christensen, T. L., "Scoto-Danish Relations in the Sixteenth Century: the Historiography and Some Questions", S.H.R., XLIX, (1969) pp.80-97.

———, "Scots in Denmark in the Sixteenth Century", S.H.R., XLIX, (1970) pp.125-45.

Clebsch, William A., "The Earliest Translations of Luther into English", Harvard Theological Review, 56, (1963) pp.75-86.

Cowan, Ian B., "Regional Aspects of the Scottish Reformation", Historical Association Pamphlet, (London, 1978).

———, "Some Aspects of the Appropriation of the Parish Churches in Medieval Scotland", R.S.C.H.S., XIII, (1959) pp.203-22.

Davidson, D., "The Influence of Printers on the Scottish Reformation", R.S.C.H.S., I, (1926) pp.75-87.

Donaldson, G., "The Foundations of Anglo-Scottish Unity", in S. T. Bindoff, J. Hurtsfield & C. H. Williams, ed., Elizabethan Government and Society: Essays presented to Sir John Neale (London, 1961) pp.282-314.

———, "The Legal Profession in Scottish Society in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries", Juridical Review, XXI, (1976) pp.1-20.

———, "Renaissance and Reformation", in H. Orel et al. ed., The Scottish World (New York, 1981) pp.87-118.

Dow, J., "Skotter in Sixteenth Century Scania", S.H.R., XLIV, (1965) pp.44-51.

Drexler, Marjorie, "Fluid Prejudice: Scottish Origin Myths in the Later Middle Ages", in J. Rosenthal & C. Richmond, ed., People, Politics and Community in the Later Middle Ages (Gloucester & New York, 1987) pp.60-77.

Dunlop, A. I., "Remissions and Indulgences in Fifteenth Century Scotland", R.S.C.H.S., XV, (1966) pp.153-67.

Durkan, J, "George Buchanan: Some French Connections", *Bibliotheck*, IV, (1963) pp.66-72.

———, "Early Humanism and King's College", Aberdeen University Review, 48, (1980), pp.259-79.

———, "Scottish 'Evangelicals' in the Patronage of Thomas Cromwell", R.S.C.H.S., (1982) pp.127-56.

Ferguson, J. Wilson, "James V and the Scottish Church", in Actions and Conviction in Early Modern Europe, T. K. Rabb & J. E. Seigel, ed., (Princeton, 1969) pp.52-76.

Ferrie, H., "Some Pre-Reformation Scots in Denmark", Innes Review, III, pp.130-37.

Fradenburg, L. O., "Narrative and Capital in Late Medieval Scotland", in L. Patterson, ed., Literary Practice and Social Change in Britain 1380-1530 (Berkeley, L. A. & Oxford, 1990).

Hale, J. R., "War and Public Opinion in the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries", Past and Present, 22, (1962) pp.18-35.

Hannay, R. K., "The Office of the Justice Clerk", Juridical Review, XLVII, (1935) pp.311-29.

Harlan, David, "Intellectual History and the Return of Literature", The American Historical Review, 94, (1989) pp.581-609.

Harward, Vernon, "*Ane Satyre of the Thrie Estatis* Again", S.S.L., VII, (1970) pp.139-146.

Head, David M., "Henry VIII's Scottish Policy: A Reassessment", S.H.R., LXI, (1982) pp.1-24.

Hexter, J. H., "The Education of the Aristocracy in the Renaissance", Journal of Modern History, XXII, (1950) pp.1-20.

Howard, Jean E., "The New Historicism in Renaissance Studies", English Literary Renaissance, 16, (1986) pp.13-43.

Innes of Learney, Sir Thomas, "The Style and Title of 'Lord Lyon King of Arms", Juridical Review, LXIV, (1933) pp.197-220.

———, "Sir David Lindsay of the Mount", Scottish Notes and Queries, XIII, (1935).

James, M., "English Politics and the Concept of Honour", Past and Present, Supplement 3, (1978).

Jamieson, Ian, "Some Attitudes to Poetry in Late Fifteenth Century Scotland", S.S.L., XV, (1980) pp.28-42.

Jordan, Constance, "Women's Role in Sixteenth Century British Political Thought", Renaissance Quarterly, 40, (1987) pp.421-51.

Keen, M. H., "Huizinga, Kilgour and the Decline of Chivalry", Medievalia et Humanistica, VIII, (1977) pp.1-25.

Kindrick, Robert L., "Politics and Poetry at the Court of James III", S.S.L., XIX, (1984) pp.40-55.

Lang, Andrew, "The Cardinal and the King's Will", S.H.R., III, (1906) pp.410-22.

Lowe, Ben, "War and the Commonwealth in Mid-Tudor England", Sixteenth Century Journal, XXI, (1990) pp.171-91.

Lyall, R. J., "Politics and Poetry in Fifteenth and Sixteenth Century Scotland", S.L.J., III, (1976) pp.5-27.

———, "The Medieval Scottish Coronation Service: Some Seventeenth Century Evidence", Innes Review, XXVIII, (1977) pp.3-21.

———, "The Court as a Cultural Centre", History Today, (Sept. 1984) pp.27-33.

McDiarmid, Matthew P., "The Kingship of the Scots in their Writers", S.L.J., VI, (1979) pp.5-18.

MacDonald, A., "Poetry, Politics and Reformation Censorship in Sixteenth Century Scotland", English Studies, 64, (1983) pp.410-21.

Macdougall, N., "The Kingship of James IV of Scotland: 'The Glory of all Princely Governing'?", History Today, (Nov. 1984) pp.30-36.

MacFarlane, L. J., "Hector Boece and Early Scottish Humanism", The Deeside Field, 18, (19840 pp.65-69.

Mackie, J. D., "Henry VIII and Scotland", T.R.H.S., XXIX, (1947) pp.93-114.

McLaine, Allan H., "The *Christis Kirk* Tradition: Its Evolution in Scots Poetry to Burns", 4 parts, S.S.L., II, (1964-65).

MacQueen, John, "*Ane Satyre of the Thrie Estatis*", S.S.L., III, (1966) pp.137-41.

———, "Some Aspects of the Early Renaissance in Scotland", Forum for Modern Language Studies, III, (1967) pp.201-22.

McRoberts, D., "The Scottish Church and Nationalism in the Fifteenth Century", Innes Review, XIX, (1968) PP.3-14.

Mason, R. A., "Kingship, Tyranny and the Right to Resist in Fifteenth Century Scotland", S.H.R., LXVI, (1987) pp.125-50.

———, "Kingship, Nobility and Anglo-Scottish Union: John Mair's History of Greater Britain, 1521", Innes Review, XLI, (1990) pp.182-222.

Merriman, M., "The Assured Scots: Scottish Collaborators with England during the Rough Wooing", S.H.R., XLVII, (1968) pp.10-34.

———, "War and Propaganda during the Rough Wooing", Scottish Traditon, 9-10, (1979-80) pp.20-30.

Mill, A. J., "The Influence of the Continental Drama on Lyndsay's *Satyre of the Thrie Estatis*", Modern Language Review, 25, (1930) pp.425-42.

———, "The Original Version of Lindsay's *Satyre of the Thrie Estatis*", S.S.L., VI, (1968) pp.67-75.

Mitchell, W. S., "William Bullein, Elizabethan Physician and Author", Medical History, III, (1959) pp.188-200.

Müller, G., "Protestant Theology in Scotland and Germany in the Early Days of the Reformation", R.S.C.H.S., XXII, (1984) pp.103-17.

Murison, W., "Sir David Lindsay and the Old Scottish Church", Aberdeen University Review, XXI, (1933-34) pp.25-29.

Murray, A. L., "Exchequer and Council in the Reign of James V", Juridical Review, V, (1960) pp.209-25.

Parekh, B. & Berki, R. N., "The History of Political Ideas: A Critique of Quentin Skinner's Methodology", Journal of the History of Ideas, XXXIV, (1973) pp.163-84.

Patrides, C. A., "Renaissance and Modern Thought on the Last Things: A Study in Changing Conceptions", Harvard Theological Review, 51, (1958) pp.169-86.

Purves, John, "Fowler and Scoto-Italian Cultural Relations in the Sixteenth Century", in The Works of William Fowler, H. W. Meikle, J. Craigie, & John Purves, ed., 3 vols (S.T.S., 1914-40) III, pp.lxxx-ci.

Reeves, Marjorie, "History and Eschatology: Medieval and Early Protestant Thought in some English and Scottish Writings", *Medievalia et Humanistica*, 4, (1973) pp.99-123.

———, "History and Prophecy in Medieval Thought", *Medievalia et Humanistica*, 5, (1974) pp.51-75.

Reid, David, "Rule and Misrule in Lindsay's *Satyre* and Pitcairn's *Assembly*", S.L.J., XI, (1884) pp.5-24.

Reid, W. S. "Lutheranism in the Scottish Reformation", Westminster Theological Journal, VII, (1944-45) pp.91-111.

Riddy, Felicity, "*Squyer Meldrum* and the Romance of Chivalry", Yearbook of English Studies, 4, (1974) pp.26-36.

Rupp, G., "Protestant Spirituality in the First Age of the Reformation" in Popular Belief and Practice, Studies in Church History VIII, G. J. Cuming and Derek Baker, ed., (Cambridge, 1972) pp.155-70.

Sanderson, Margaret H. B., "Some Aspects of the the Church in Scottish Society in the Era of the Scottish Reformation", R.S.C.H.S., XVII, (1970) pp.81-98.

———, "The Feuars of Kirklands", S.H.R., LII, (1973) pp.117-36.

Shaw, D., "Zwingilian Influences on the Scottish Reformation", R.S.C.H.S., XXII, (1985) pp.119-39.

Shoenberger, C. G., "The Development of the Lutheran Theory of Resistance: 1523-1530", Sixteenth Century Journal, VIII, (1977) pp.61-76.

Shuffleton, Frank, "An Imperial Flower: Dunbar's The Golden Targe and the Court Life of James IV of Scotland", Studies in Philology, 72, (1975) pp.193-207.

Skinner, Quentin, "Meaning and Understanding in the History of Ideas", History and Theory, VIII, (1969) pp.1-53.

Slavin, A. J., "Profitable Studies: Humanists and Government in Early Tudor England", Viator, I, (1970) pp.307-25.

Stewart, Alisdair M., "Carion, Wedderburn, Lindsay", Aberdeen University Review, (1972) pp.271-74.

Walker, Greg, "Sir David Lindsay's *Ane Satyre of the Thrie Estatis* and the Politics of the Reformation", S.L.J., XI, (1989) pp.5-17.

Watt, H., "Henry Balnaves and the Scottish Reformation", R.S.C.H.S., V, (1935) pp.23-39.

Wiedermann, G., "Martin Luther versus John Fisher: Some Ideas concerning the Debate on Lutheran Theology at the University of St Andrews, 1525-30", R.S.C.H.S., XXII, (1984) pp.13-34.

Willard, C. C., "The Concept of True Nobility at the Burgundian Court", Studies in the Renaissance, XIV, (1967) pp.38-48.

Williams, A. M., "Sir David Lindsay 1490-1555", S.H.R., XII, (1915) pp.166-73.

Williams, J. E. H., "The Lyon and the Hound: Sir David Lyndsay's *Complaint and...Confessioun of...Bagsche*", Paregon, 31, (1981) pp.3-12.

———, "'Althoucht I beir nocht lyke ane baird': David Lyndsay's *Complaynt*", S.L.J., IX, (1982) pp.5-20.

3) Theses

Barclay, William Robinson, "The Role of Sir David Lindsay in the Scottish Reformation", Unpublished Ph.D. Thesis, University of Wisconsin, (1956).

Bartley, Mary Margaret, "A Preliminary Study of the Scottish Royal Entries of Mary Stuart, James VI and Anne of Denmark: 1558-1603", Unpublished Ph.D. Thesis, Michigan University, (1981).

Charteris, Joan N., "The Evolution of the English Party in Scotland 1513-44", Unpublished Ph.D. Thesis, University of McGill, (1973).

Emond, W. K., "The Minority of King James V 1513-28", Unpublished Ph.D. Thesis, St Andrews University, (1988).

Fulton, R. W. M., "Social Criticism in Scottish Literature 1480-1560", Unpublished Ph.D. Thesis, Edinburgh University, (1972).

Goodare, Julian, "Parliament and Society in Scotland 1560-1603", Unpublished Ph.D. Thesis, Edinburgh University, (1989).

Mapstone, Sally, "The Advice to Princes Tradition in Scottish Literature: 1450-1603", Unpublished Ph.D. Thesis, Oxford University, (1986).

Mason, R. A., "Kingship and Commonweal: Political Thought and Ideology in Reformation Scotland", Unpublished Ph.D. Thesis, Edinburgh University, (1983).

Williams, J. E. H., "The Poetry of Sir David Lyndsay of the Mount", Unpublished Ph.D. Thesis, Australian National University, (1978).